THE

Fundamental Charter OF Presbytery,

P. 4. 46

As it has been lately Eſtabliſhed

IN THE

Kingdom of *SCOTLAND*,

Examin'd and Diſprov'd,

By the Hiſtory, Records, and Publick Tranſactions of our Nation.

The Second Edition.

To which is added, a

PREFACE;

Wherein the Vindicator of the Kirk is freely put in mind of his Habitual Infirmities.

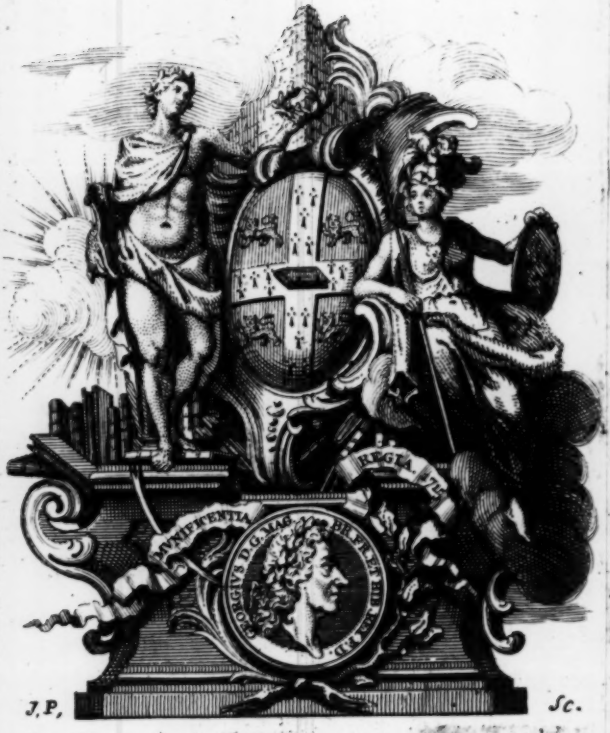
And Contents of the whole.

Never before Printed.

By the Author of the Cyprianic *Age.*

LONDON,

Printed for *C. Brome*, at the *Gun*, at the Weſt End of St. *Paul's* Church-yard, 1697.



751:12

THE PREFACE.

THis *Article*, which I have now examined, was no sooner Established, in our *Scottish Claim of Right*, than I turn'd serious to satisfy my self about it. I thought it concern'd me as a *Scottish man* to understand, as well as I could, *That* which made such a *Figure* in the *Original Contract* between *King* and *People*. I thought I was no less concern'd as a *Christian*, to be Resolv'd about its Merits: I perceiv'd it might readily affect my practice; And tho I abhor, as heartily as any man, all breaking of the Churches peace, for Rattles or Nutshels; Yet I could not but reckon of it as a matter of Conscience, to me, to Endeavour to be sure that I built neither my Faith

nor my Obedience, in a matter of ſuch Conſequence, as I take the Government of the Church to be, on a Deceitful bottom. Perhaps I was bound to be inquiſitive by ſome other Reduplications, not needful to be Named.

I had not ſpent much Application about it, when I was ſatisfied; and thought I had Ground to hope, the Wiſdom of the Nation, after more Deliberate Reſearches, might find it Reaſonable, either to Reſtore to the Church, Her *Ancient* and *Juſt* Government, or ſettle the *New One*, on ſome (at leaſt) more *Specious Baſis*. But I was Diſappointed. For

Three *Seſſions* of Parliament are now over; And the *Article* is ſo far from being either Retracted or Corrected, that, on the Contrary, It hath been ſtill inſiſted on, and Deem'd ſufficient to ſupport very weighty Superſtructures. Each *Seſſion* hath Erected ſome new thing or other, upon it.

This, with the importunity of ſome Friends, at laſt, Determin'd me to Enquire more fully and minutely

into

into the value of the *Article*; And the Work hath ſwell'd to ſuch a bulk as you ſee.

I confeſs I cannot Apologize ſufficiently for my adventuring to Expoſe ſuch ane ill Compoſure to the publick view; Eſpecially Conſidering how Nice and Critical, if not Picq't and Humorſome an Age we live in.

I ever thought that much of the *Beauty*, as well as of the *Utility* of Books, lay in *Good Method*, and a diſtinct *Range* of Thoughts: And I cannot promiſe that I have obſerved *That*, ſo punctually, as Clearer Heads might have done.

I have leſs Reaſon to be Confident of the *Stile*. 'Tis hard for moſt *Scottiſh men* to arrive at any tolerable Degree of *Engliſh Purity*. Our greateſt Caution cannot prevent the Stealing of our own *Words* and *Idioms* into our Pens, and their dropping thence, into our writings. All things conſidered, I have as little Reaſon to think I have Guarded, or could Guard againſt them, as any *Scottiſh man:* For not only have mine opportunities, all my life, been none of

the beſt; But, for finding Materials for the following Papers, I was obliged to Read ſo many Books written in Right Broad *Scotch*, and take ſo many Citations from them, that 'tis little to be wondered, if my Book abounds with *Scotticiſms*. I thought my ſelf bound to be faithful in my Citations: (and I can promiſe I have been that) I could not Reaſon from the Authority of theſe Citations, without uſing the Terms and Phraſes which are in them: This no doubt, makes the *Scotticiſms* Numerous: And I ſhall not deny that my familiar acquaintance with theſe Books, together with the prejudices of Education, Cuſtom, and Conſtant Converſe in the plain *Scottiſh Dialect*, may have occaſioned many more.

Neither ſhall I be over Confident, that, where I have adventured to Reaſon any point, I have done it to every mans Conviction. I may have been (as other men) apt to impoſe on my ſelf, and think I have advanced juſt propoſitions, and drawn fair Conſequences, when I have not done it. No doubt, moſt men have ſuch a Kindneſs

Kindneſs for themſelves, as, too commonly, inclines them to applaud their own thoughts, and judge their own Reaſonings Juſt and Solid, when they are but Coarſe enough; And others may very eaſily diſcover where the miſtake lies: Yet, this I can ſay for my ſelf, I have done, what I could to Guard againſt all ſuch prejudice and partial Byaſs.

Senſible of theſe infirmities, I intreat the Readers favourable and benign Cenſures. This I can tell him ingenuouſly; If I could have done better, I ſhould not have Grudg'd him the pleaſure of it.

But, perchance, that which I am more concern'd to account for, is, what Aſſiſtances I had for what I have advanced, in the following Sheets. And, here, I muſt Confeſs, I had not all the Advantages I could have wiſhed. Such are my preſent Circumſtances, That I could not Rationally propoſe to my ſelf, to have Acceſs to the publick Records, either of Church or State; And, no doubt, in this, I was at a Conſiderable loſs: For he who Tranſcribes from Authen-

tick Records, Doth it more Securely, than he who has things only from Second hands.

Yet, I don't think this Diſadvantage was ſuch, as ſhould have intirely Diſcouraged me from the Attempt I have made: For ſome of my Authors had Acceſs to the publick Regiſters; And I am apt to believe there was not much to be found, there, Relating to the Controverſies I have managed, which they have not publiſhed; So that, tho 'tis poſſible, I might have been *better*, yet I cannot think I was *ill* provided of *Helps*: I cannot think any of my *Presbyterian* Brethren can be provided *much better.*

The principal Authors from which I have collected my Materials, are theſe; *Buchanan*'s Hiſtory publiſhed at *Frankfort*, Anno 1594 *Leſlie*'s Hiſtory, at *Edenburgh*, 1675. King *James* the *Sixth's* Works, in *Engliſh*, at *London*, 1616. Archbiſhop *Spotſwood's Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of* Scotland, at *London*, Anno 1655. His *Refutatio Libelli*, &c. *Lond.* An. 1620. The *True Hiſtory of*

the

the Church of Scotland, *&c.* ſaid to be written by Mr. *David Calderwood*, publiſhed *An.* 1678. Mr. *Petrie's Hiſtory of the Catholick Church*, &c. *Tom.* 2. printed at the *Hague*, Anno 1662. Sir *James Melvil's Memoirs*. The *Old Scottiſh Liturgy*. The Lord *Herbert's* Hiſtory of the Life of *King Henry* 8. Doctor *Heylin* and Doctor *Burnet's Hiſtories of the Reformation of the Church of England*. *Calvin's* Epiſtles printed at *Geneva*, Anno 1617. *Beza's* Epiſtles till the year 1573. *Acts and Monuments* by *Fox*, &c.

I have likewiſe conſidered our printed *Acts* of *Parliaments*. The printed *Acts* of the *General Aſſemblies*, from the year 1638. And as many Pamphlets as I could find, Relating to the Matters on which I inſiſt: 'Tis needleſs to Name them here: You may find them named, as Occaſion required, in my Book. There are two Books which I muſt inſiſt on a little.

One is A *Manuſcript Copy* of the *Acts* of our *Scottiſh Aſſemblies* from the year 1560 till the year 1616. Our Presbyterian Brethren may be

ready to reject its Authority, if it Militate againſt them: I give My Reader, therefore, this brief account of it.

It was tranſcribed in the year 1638. when the *National Covenant* was in a flouriſhing ſtate; For I find, at the end of it, the Tranſcriber's Name and his Deſignation, written with the ſame hand by which the whole M S. is written; And he ſays, "He "began to tranſcribe upon the 15th "day of *January* 1638. and com- "pleated his work on the 23d of *A-* "*pril*, that ſame year. He was ſuch a *Reader* as we have commonly, in *Scotland*, in Country Pariſhes.

It is not to be imagined, it was tranſcribed, then, for ſerving the Intereſts of Epiſcopacy; For, as *Petrie*, and the Presbyterians, generally affirm, The Prelates and Prelatiſts dreaded nothing more, in thoſe days, than that the Old Regiſters of the *Kirk* ſhould come abroad: And it was about that time, that Mr. *Petrie* got his Copy, from which he publiſhed ſo many Acts of our Old General Aſſemblies: Nor is it to be doubted

doubted but that, as ſeveral Copies, then, were, ſo particularly, that which I have peruſed, was tranſcribed for the Ends of the *Good Old Cauſe*. This I am ſure of, the *Covenant* as required, then, to be ſubſcribed, by the *Green Tables*, is ſet down, at full length in the *Manuſcript*. Beſides,

The *Stile* and Language teſtify that there is no Reaſon to doubt, That the Acts of Aſſemblies, which it contains, have been tranſcribed, word for word, at firſt, from the Authentick Records: And if *Calderwood*'s or *Petrie*'s Accounts of theſe Acts, deſerve any Credit, My *MS.* cannot be rejected, for it hath all they have publiſhed; and, for the moſt part, in the ſame Terms, except, where theſe Authors have altered the Language, ſometimes to make it more faſhionable and intelligible; ſometimes to ſerve their Cauſe, and the Concerns of their Party.

It hath *Chaſms*, alſo, and Defects, where, they ſay, Leaves have been torn from the Original Regiſters: And I have not adduced many Acts from

from it, which either one, or both theſe Authors have not likewiſe mentioned in their Hiſtories.

Calderwood has indeed concealed very many, having intended, it ſeems, to publiſh nothing but what made for him; tho, I think, even in that, his *Judgment* hath not ſufficiently kept pace with his *Inclinations*. Nay,

His Supplement, which he hath ſubjoyn'd to his Hiſtory, as well as the Hiſtory it ſelf, is lame, by his own Acknowledgment: For theſe are the very firſt words of it: *I have in the preceeding Hiſtory only inſerted ſuch Acts, Articles, and Anſwers to Queſtions, as belonged to the Scope of the Hiſtory, and Form of Church Government; Some few excepted touching Corruptions in the Worſhip of God, or the Office and Calling of Miniſters. But becauſe there are other Acts and Articles neceſſary to be known, I have* SELECTED *ſuch as are of greateſt Uſe; paſſing by ſuch as were* TEMPORARY, *or concerned only* TEMPORARY OFFICES, *&c.*

Here is a clear Confeſſion that he has not given us all the Acts of Aſ-

ſemblies:

ſemblies: Nay, that he has not given *all ſuch as concerned Temporary Offices*; and, amongſt theſe, we ſhall find him, in the following Sheets, more confidently than warrantably, reckoning *Superintendency* and the *Epiſcopacy* which was agreed to at *Leith*, Anno 1572.

I have mentioned theſe things, that the World may ſee, it cannot be reaſonable for our Presbyterian Brethren to inſiſt on either *Calderwood*'s Authority or Ingenuity againſt my *Mſs.* How ingenuous or impartial he has been, you may have opportunity to gueſs before you have got through the enſuing Papers.

Petrie hath, indeed, given us a great many more of the Acts of General Aſſemblies than *Calderwood* hath done; as may appear to any who attends to the Margin of my Book: But he, alſo, had the *Good Cauſe* to ſerve; and therefore, has corrupted ſome things, and concealed other things, as I have made appear: However, he has the far greater part of what I have tranſcribed from the *Mſs.*

Spotſwood

Spotſwood hath fewer than either of the two Presbyterian Hiſtorians; yet ſome he hath, which I find alſo in the *MS.* and which they have both omitted. In ſhort,

I have taken but very few from it, which are not to be found in ſome One or More of theſe Hiſtorians: Neither have I adduced ſo much as One from it, nor is One in it, which is not highly agreeable to the State and Circumſtances of the Church, and the *Genius* of the times, for which it mentions them: So that,

Upon the whole matter, I ſee no reaſon to doubt of its being a faithful Tranſcript: And I think I may juſtly ſay of it, as *Optatus* ſaid of another *MS.* upon the like occaſion, *Vetuſtas Membranarum teſtimonium perhibet, &c.* (*optat. Milev.* lib. 1. f. 7. edit. *Paris* 1569) It hath all the Marks of Antiquity and Integrity that it pretends to; and there's nothing about it that renders it ſuſpicious.

The other Book, which, I ſaid, required ſome farther conſideration is, *The Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of* Scotland, *containing five Books,*

Books, &c. Commonly attributed to *John Knox*, by our Presbyterian Brethren. That which I have to ſay about it is, chiefly, That Mr. *Knox* was not the Author of it.

A. B. Spotſwood hath proven this by Demonſtration, in his Hiſtory, (*pag.* 267.) his Demonſtration is, "That the Author, whoever he was, "talking of one of our Martyrs, re- "mitteth the Reader for a farther "Declaration of his Sufferings, to the "Acts and Monuments of Mr. *Fox*, which came not to light till ſome twelve years after *Knox*'s Death. Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* was the Martyr; and the Reference is to be ſeen *pag.* 4. of that Hiſtory I am now conſidering. Beſides this, I have obſerved a great many more infallible proofs that *Knox* was not the Author. I ſhall only inſtance in ſome 3 or 4. Thus

Pag. 447. The Author, having ſet down a Copy of the *Letter* ſent by the *Church* of *Scotland* to the *Church* of *England*, (of which, more, by and by) "Tells how the *Engliſh* Noncon- "formiſts wrote to *Beza*, and *Beza*

"to

" to *Grindal* Biſhop of *London*; which " Letter of *Beza*'s to *Grindal*, he ſays, " is the *Eight* in order, amongſt *Be-* " *za*'s Epiſtles: And in that ſame *page*, " he mentions another of *Beza*'s Let- " ters to *Grindal*, calling it the " *Twelfth* in Number: Now, 'tis cer- tain *Beza*'s Epiſtles were not pub- liſhed till the year 1573. *i. e.* after *Knox*'s Death.

It may be obſerved alſo that he adds farther in that ſame *page*, That *The ſincerer ſort of the Miniſtery in* England, *had not yet aſſaulted the Juriſdiction and Church Government*, (*which they did not till the year* 1572. *at which time they publiſhed their firſt and ſecond* Admonitions *to the* Parliament) *but only had excepted againſt Superſtitious Apparel, and ſome other faults in the Service Book.* From which, beſides that 'tis Evident, *Knox* could not be the Author, we may Learn from the Authors Confeſſion, whoever he was, That the Contro- verſies about *Parity* and *Imparity*, &c. were not ſo early in *Britain* as our Presbyterian Brethren are earneſt to have the preſent Generation believe.

Again Pag.

Pag. 449 The Author, Narrating how *Henry*, Queen *Mary*'s Husband, *&c* was buried. Adds, in Confirmation of his own Veracity, Thus. *If there had been any Solemn Burial*, Buchanan *had wanted Wit, to Relate otherwiſe; Seeing there would have been ſo many Witneſſes to teſtify the Contrary: Therefore, the Contriver of the late Hiſtory of Queen* Mary, *wanted Policy, here, to convey a Lie.* Thus, I ſay, the Author vouches *Buchanans* Authority; And it muſt be *Buchanans* Hiſtory that he Refers to; For there's not a Syllable, about *Henry*'s Burial, to be found in any of his other writings, Now,

Not to inſiſt on the incredibleneſs of *Knox*'s running for Shelter to *Buchanans* Authority, concerning a matter of *Fact* ſo remarkable in its ſelf, and which happened in his own time, in that very City in which he lived and was Miniſter: Not to inſiſt on this, I ſay, *Buchanan* himſelf in his Dedication of his Hiſtory to King *James* 6th, Clearly decides the matter.

He

He tells his Majesty there were two Considerations which chiefly put him upon writing his History. First, "He perceived his Majesty had "Read, and Understood the Histories "of almost all other Nations; And "it was incongruous and unaccoun-"table that he, who was so well ac-"quainted with Foreign Affairs, "should be a Stranger to the Histo-"ry of his own Kingdom. Second-"ly, He was intrusted with the Kings "Education: He could not attend "his Majesty in that important Of-"fice, by Reason of his Old Age and "Multiplying infirmities; He apply-"ed himself, therefore, to write his "History, thereby, to Compense "the Defects of his Non-Attendance, *&c.*

And from both Reasons it is evident, that *Knox* was Dead before *Buchannan* applyed himself to the writing of his History: For *Knox* dyed *Anno* 1572. K. *James* was, then, but Six years of Age. And is it Credible, that at that Age, he had Read and got by heart, the Histories of almost all other Nations? Indeed

Buchanan

Buchanan ſurvived *Knox* by ten years; And, for a good many of them was able to wait, and actually waited on the King; So that 'tis clear 'twas towards the end of his days, and after *Knox*'s Death that he applyed himſelf to his Hiſtory. And 'tis very well known, it was never publiſhed till the year 1582. But this is not all

The Author of that which is called *Knox*'s Hiſtory, adduces *Buchanan*'s Authority for Convelling the Credit of the *Contriver* of the *Late Hiſtory* of Queen *Mary*, which was written, I cannot tell how long, after *Buchanan* was Dead, as well as *Knox*. Further,

Pag. 306. The Author diſcourſes thus, *The Books of Diſcipline have been, of late, ſo often publiſhed, that we ſhall forbear to print them at this time.* Now, there were never more than *two* Books of Diſcipline; and the *Second* was not ſo much as projected till the year 1576, *i. e.* 4 years after *Knox* had departed this life. Once more,

Pag. 286. We read thus, *Some in* France, *after the ſudden Death of*

Francis *the* Second, *and calling to mind the Death of* Charles *the* Ninth, *in Blood, and the Slaughter of* Henry *the* Second, *did Remark the Tragical ends of these three Princes who had persecuted Gods Servants so cruelly.* —— *And indeed the following Kings of* France, *unto this day, have found this true, by their unfortunate and unexpected Ends.* Now

Charles the *Ninth* died not till the 30th of *May*, Anno 1574. *i. e.* 18 Months after *Knox*. The following Kings of *France* who made the *Unfortunate* and *unexpected Ends* were *Henry* the *Third*, and *Henry* the *Fourth: Henry* the *Third* was not Murthered till the year 1589. *Henry* the *Fourth*, not till *May* 1610. The former 17, the latter 38 years after the Death of *Knox*.

From this Taste it is clear, that that History at least, as we now have it, was not written by *Knox*. All that can be said with any Shadow of probability, is, that *Knox* provided some Materials for it. But Granting this, how shall we be able to separate that which is *Spurious* in it

it from that which is *Genuine*? All I can ſay is this.

'Tis plain to every one that Reads it, That he has been a thorough-paced Presbyterian, who framed it as we have it: By Conſequence, its Authority is ſtark naught for any thing, in it, that favours *Presbytery*, or beſpatters *Prelacy*: And if it ought to have any credit at all, it is only where the Controverſies about Church Government are no ways intereſted; or where it mentions any thing that may be improven to the Advantages of *Epiſcopacy*; juſt as the Teſtimonies of Adverſaries are uſeful for the intereſts of the oppoſite party, and not an Ace farther: So that, I had reaſon (if any Man can have it) to inſiſt on its Authority, as I have frequently done; But no Presbyterian can, in equity, either plead, or be allowed the ſame priviledge.

I could give the Reader a ſurfeit of inſtances, which cannot but appear, to any conſidering perſon, to be plain and notorious Presbyterian corruptions, in it: But I ſhall only repreſent *One*, as being of conſiderable

importance, in the Controverſie which I have managed in my *Second Enquiry*; and, by that, the Reader may make a Judgment of the Authors Candor and Integrity in other things.

The *Engliſh Non-conformiſts*, zealous to be rid of the *Veſtments*, and ſome other *Forms* and *Ceremonies* retained by the Church of *England*, which they reckoned to be ſcandalous impoſitions, wrote earneſtly (as is known) to ſeveral Reformed Churches, and Proteſtant Divines, beſeeching them to interpoſe with the Church of *England* for an eaſe of theſe burdens. It ſeems they wrote to ſome in *Scotland* alſo; probably to Mr. *Knox*: He was of their acquaintance; and they could not but be ſecure enough of his inclinations, conſidering how warm he had been about theſe matters at *Francfort*.

However it was, the Church of *Scotland* did actually interpoſe. The General Aſſembly, met at *Edenburgh*, *Decem.* 27. Anno 1566, ordered *John Knox* to draw a Letter to the *Engliſh* Clergy, in favour of thoſe *Non-conformiſts*. This Letter was ſubſcribed

ſubſcribed and ſent. Now, conſider the *Tricks* of the Author of the *Hiſtory* attributed to *Knox*.

The *Inſcription* of the Letter, as it is in *Spotſwood*, *Petrie*, and the *Manuſcript* Copy of the Acts of the General Aſſembly's, is this:

The Superintendents, Miniſters and Commiſſioners of the Church, within the Realm of Scotland, *To their Brethren the Biſhops and Paſtors of* England, *who have renounced the* Roman *Antichriſt, and do profeſs, with them, the Lord Jeſus in ſincerity, wiſh the increaſe of the Holy Spirit.*

Thus, I ſay *Spotſwood* hath it; (*pag.* 198.) And the *MS.* and *Petrie* (*Tom.* 2. *p.* 348.) have it in the ſame words; only where *Spotſwood* hath [*wiſh*] they have [*deſire*] which makes no material Difference. But the ſpurious *Knox* has it thus. (*pag.* 445.)

The Superintendents, with other Miniſters and Commiſſioners of the Church of God, in the Kingdom of Scotland, *To their Brethren the Biſhops and Paſtors of Gods Church in* England, *who profeſs with us, in* Scotland, *the Truth of Jeſus Chriſt,*

Now conſider if there are not Material Differences between theſe two *Inſcriptions*. By the *Inſcription*, as it is in *Spotſwood*, *Petrie*, and the *MS.* the Dignity and Superiority of the *Scottiſh Superintendents*, above the reſt of the Clergy, is clearly preſerved: By the other account it is ſadly obſcured; and they are made (at leaſt very much) to ſtand on a level *with other Miniſters*, &c.

By the *Inſcription* as in *Spotſwood*, *&c.* The Sentiments Our *Scottiſh* Clergy had, then, about the *Engliſh* Reformation, and Conſtitution, are very plain, genuine and charitable: They were ſatisfied, that the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church of *England* had *Renounced the* Roman *Antichriſt*, and that *they profeſſed the Lord Jeſus in* SINCERITY; And they had for them, ſuitably, the Chriſtian and Brotherly Charity, which the Orthodox and Sincere Chriſtians of one Church, ought to have for the Orthodox and Sincere Chriſtians of another Church: They *wiſhed*, or *deſired* to them, *The Increaſe of the Holy Spirit.* How highly this

this was agrceable to the ſentiments of the then Proteſtants in *Scotland*, I have made fully appear in the Diſcuſſion of my *Second Enquiry*. But,

To the *Pſeudo-Knox*, it ſeems, it lookt highly ſcandalous, to own, That the Biſhops and Paſtors of *England* had *Renounced the Roman Antichriſt*, or that they profeſſed the Lord Jeſus *in ſincerity*: How could theſe things be ſaid, ſo long as they retained *Antichriſts Hierarchy*, or had ſo many *Romiſh Mixtures*? And therefore, to *wiſh* them *the increaſe of the Holy Spirit*, was too bold a prayer; It was founded on a falſe *hypotheſis*: It ſuppoſed they had the *Holy Spirit* already. How ſuitable is all this to the Presbyterian temper and principles? And, by conſequence, is it not evident that theſe alterations were not the effects of negligence or inadvertencie, but of the true Spirit of the party? But this is not all.

In the *body* of the *Letter*, as recorded by the *Pſeudo Knox*, there are ſeveral other Corruptions: I ſhall

only point at one, but it is a conſiderable one.

The General Aſſembly which ſent the *Letter*, after a Digreſſion concerning the care that ought to be had of tender Conſciences, *&c.* Reſume their main purpoſe, thus, *We return to our former humble ſupplication, which is, that our Brethren, who, amongſt you, refuſe theſe* Romiſh Rags, *may find of you, who are the PRELATS, ſuch favour as our Head and Maſter commandeth every one of his members to ſhew to another.*

So it is not only in the MS. *Spotſwood* and *Petrie*, word for word, but alſo in a virulent Presbyterian Pamphlet, called *Scotidromus*, directed to *all Noble Scots and kind Catholicks zealous for the Romiſh Religion*; written *Anno* 1638, to caſt dirt, at that time, upon Epiſcopacy, and render it odious to the People; which Pamphlet I have by me, in *Manuſcript*: But

The Suppoſititious *Knox* has it thus, *Now again we return to our former Requeſt, which is, that the Brethren, among you, who refuſe the* Romiſh

niſh Rags *may find of you* (not the PRELATES, but) *who USE and URGE them, ſuch favour*, &c How unfit was it for the world to know that a *Scottiſh* General Aſſembly had own'd the Biſhops of *England* as PRELATES? It was ſcandalous, no doubt, to the Godly: It was expedient, therefore, to *falſify* a little, and *foiſt* in more uſeful Epithets; to call them, not PRELATES, but USERS and URGERS of the *Ceremonies*.

I have inſiſted the longer on this Book, becauſe our Presbyterian Brethren are ſo earneſt to have the world believe that it was written by *Knox*: Particularly G. *R.* (in his *Firſt Vindication*, &c. *in Anſwer to Queſt.* 1. §. 8.) where, too, obſerve by the way, how extravagantly that Author blunders. His words are, [*Anno* 1559. The *Proteſtant Miniſters and People held a General Aſſembly at* St. Johnſtown, *ſaith* Knox, *Hiſt. Lib.* 2. *p.* 137.] Now there is not ſo much as one ſyllable of a General Aſſembly in the *Text*. Upon the *Margin*, indeed, there are theſe words [*The firſt Aſſembly at*

St.

St. Johnſtown] But no Presbyterian, I think, (unleſs he is one of *G. R.*'s kind) will be ſo impudent as to ſay that all that's on the Margin of that Book was written by *Knox*. And that Meeting which was then at *Perth*, was nothing like that Court, which we call a General Aſſembly: But enough of this.

To conclude, tho' I am firmly perſwaded that *Knox* was not the Author of this *Hiſtory*, yet becauſe it paſſes commonly under his name, I have ſtill cited it, ſo, on my Margin. The Edition I have uſed, is that, in *4to*, publiſhed at *Edenburg*, *Anno* 1644.

The other Treatiſes attributed to *Knox* (and I know no Reaſon to doubt their being his) from which I have cited any thing, are in ane *Appendix* to the Hiſtory.

I have not made it my work to cite Acts of Parliaments, and repreſent the favourable countenance *Epiſcopacy* hath had from the *State*, ſo much, as to conſider the ſentiments of our Reformers, and thoſe who ſucceeded them, in their *Eccleſiaſtical* capacity;

part-

partly, becauſe the Acts of Parliament have been diligently collected before; Particularly, whoſo pleaſes may ſee a goodly train of them, from the year 1560 till the year 1617, in the *Large Declaration pag.* 333, &c. Partly, becauſe our Presbyterian Brethren, are in uſe to inſiſt more on the *Books of Diſcipline*, and the *Acts* of *General Aſſemblies*, *&c.* than on *Acts* of *Parliaments*.

One advantage, (amongſt many diſadvantages) I think, I have, it is, that the Authors I have moſt frequently cited, were Presbyterians, by conſequence, Authors whoſe Teſtimony's can, leaſt, be called in Queſtion by my Presbyterian Brethren.

I do not pretend to have exhauſted the ſubjects I have inſiſted on: Any Reader may eaſily perceive I have been at a loſs as to ſeveral things in Hiſtory. Perchance, I have ſometimes ſtarted ſome things *New*, and which have not been obſerved before. I wiſh I may have given occaſion to thoſe who are fitter, and better furniſhed with helps, for ſuch *Enquiries*, to conſider, if they can bring more light to

our

our Hiſtory. In the mean time, I think, I have ſaid enough to convince the Reader, that our Presbyterian Brethren have not reaſon to be ſo confident, as commonly they are, for their ſide of the Controverſies I have managed.

Yet, after all this, I am not ſecure but that they will endeavour to have my Book Anſwered; for all Books moſt be Anſwered, that militate againſt them; and they can ſtill find ſome *G. R.* or other who has zeal and confidence enough for ſuch attempts.

Upon the ſuppoſition, therefore, that I muſt have ane anſwer, I do, for once, become ane earneſt ſuiter to my Presbyterian Brethren, that they would imploy ſome Perſon of ordinary ſenſe and diſcretion, to Anſwer me, and not their common *Vindicator* of their Kirk, *G. R.* for I have got enough of him, and I incline not to have any more meddling with him.

Whoſo reads the following papers, I think, may find ſuch a ſample of him; ſuch a *ſwatch* (pardon the word, if

if it is not *Engliſh*) of both his *Hiſtorical* and his *Argumentative Skill* (a talent he bewails, much the want of, in his Adverſaries) as may make it appear juſt and reaſonable for any man to *decline* him. But leſt he is not repreſented, there, ſo fully as he ought to be, ſo fully as may juſtify my *declining* of him, I ſhall be at ſome farther pains, here, to give the Reader a fuller proſpect of him

To delineate him minutely, might, perchance, be too laborious for me, and too tedious and loathſome to my Reader: I ſhall reſtrict my ſelf, therefore to his four *Cardinal Virtues*, his *Learning*, his *Judgment*, his *Civility*, and his *Modeſty*: Or, (becauſe we are *Scottiſhmen*) to give them their plain *Scotch* names, his *Ignorance*, his *Non-ſence*, his *Ill-nature*, and his *Impudence*.

Perhaps I ſhall not be able to reduce every individual inſtance to its proper *Species*: 'Tis very hard to do that, in matters which have ſuch affinity one with another, as there is between *Ignorance* and *Non-ſence*, or

or between *Ill-nature* and *Impudence*: But this I dare promiſe, if I cannot keep by the *Nice* Laws of *Categories*, I ſhall be careful to keep by the *Strict* Laws of *Juſtice*: I ſhall entitle him to nothing that is not truely his own. So much for *Preface*, come we next to the *Purpoſe*. And in the

1. Place, I am apt to think, ſince ever writing was a Trade, there was never Author furniſhed with a richer ſtock of unqueſtionable *Ignorance* for it. To inſiſt on all the Evidences of this, would ſwell this Preface to a Bulk beyond the Book.

I omit, therefore, his making *Presbyterian Ruling Elders*, (as contradiſtinct from *Teaching Elders*) of *Divine Inſtitution*; his making the SENIORES, ſometimes mentioned by the Fathers, ſuch *Ruling Elders*; and his laying ſtreſs on the old blunder about *St. Ambroſe*'s teſtimony to that purpoſe, (vide *True Repreſent. of Presbyterian Government prop.* 3.) Theſe I omit becauſe not peculiar to him.

I omit even that, which, for any thing

thing I know, may be peculiar to him; *viz.* That his *Ruling Elders* are called *Biſhops*, and that their neceſſary Qualifications are ſet down at length in Scrip. *e. g.* 1 Tim. 3. 2. and Tit. 1. 6 (*ibid. Prop.* 3. 4.)

I omit his Learn'd affirmative, that *Patronages were not brought into the Church till the 7th or 8th Centurie, or Later*; And that *they came in amongſt the lateſt Antichriſtian Corruptions and Uſurpations* (ibid. Anſw. to Object. 9*th*)

I omit all ſuch Aſſertions as theſe, that *the moſt and moſt Eminent of the Prelatiſts acknowledge that by our Saviours appointment, and according to the practice of the firſt and beſt Ages of the Church, ſhe ought to be, and was Governed, in Common, by Miniſters Acting in Parity* (ibid. Prop. 12.) That *Dioceſan Epiſcopacy was not ſettled in* St Cyprian's *time* (Rational Defence of Nonconformity, *&c.* p. 157) That *Dioceſan Epiſcopacy prevailed not for the firſt three Centuries*, and that *it was not generally in the 4th Centurie* (ibid. 158.) *That the Biſhop* S. Cyprian *all alongſt, ſpeaks of, was a*

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Presbyterian Moderator (ibid: 179.) That *Cyprian*, *Auſtine*, *Athanaſius*, &c. were only *ſuch Moderators* (ibid. 175, 176, 177, 178.)

I omit his inſiſting on the Authority of the *Decretal Epiſtles* attributed to Pope *Anacletus*, as if they were Genuine (ibid. 202.) And that great Evidence of his skill in the affairs of the Proteſtant Churches, *viz. That Epiſcopacy is not to be ſeen in any one of them, Except* England (ibid. p. 10.) Nay,

I omit his nimble and learned Gloſs he has put on St. *Jerom's Toto Orbe Decretum*, &c. viz. *That this Remedy of* Schiſm, *in many places, began, then,* (i. e. in St. *Jerom's* time) *to be thought on; and that it was no wonder that this Corruption began, then, to creep in; it being, then, about the end of the fourth Centurie, when* Jerome *wrote*, &c. (ibid. 170.)

Neither ſhall I inſiſt on his famous Expoſition of St. *Jerom's Quid facit Epiſcopus*, &c. becauſe it has been ſufficiently expoſed, already, in the *Hiſtorical Relation of the General Aſſ.* 1690. Nor on his making *Plutarch*, *Simo-*

Simonides, *Chryſoſtom*, &c. Every *Græcian* ſpeak *Latin*, when he had the confidence to cite them. Theſe and 50 more ſuch ſurprizing Arguments of our Authors ſingular learning, I ſhall paſs over; And ſhall inſiſt only, a little, on two or three inſtances, which, to my taſte, ſeem ſuperlatively pleaſant. And

1. In that profound Book, which he calls a *Rational Defence of Nonconformity*, &c. in Anſwer to D. *Stillingfleet's Unreaſonableneſs of the ſeparation from the Church of* England (pag. 172.) He hath Gloſſed St. *Chryſoſtom*, yet, more ridiculouſly than he did St. *Jerom*. The paſſage as it is in *Chryſoſtom*, is ſufficiently famous and known to all who have enquired into Antiquity, about the Government of the Church. The Learned Father having Diſcourſed concerning the Office and Duties of a *Biſhop* (*Hom.* 10. on 1 *Tim.* 3.) and proceeding, by the Apoſtles Method, to Diſcourſe next of *Deacons* (Hom. 11.) ſtarted this difficulty. How came the Apoſtle to preſcribe no Rules about Presbyters? And he ſol-

ved it thus, ὅτι ὐ πολὺ τὸ μέσον ἀυτῶν καὶ ἐπισκόπων. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀυτοὶ διδασκαλίαν εἰσὶν ἀναδεδεγμένοι καὶ πρεσβείαν τὴ ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἃ περὶ ἐπισκόπων εἶπε, ταῦτα καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἀρμόττει. Τῇ γὰρ χειροτονία μονῃ ὑπερβέβηκασι. Καὶ τούτῳ μόνον δοκοῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν τὰς πρεσβυτέρους. *St. Paul*, says he, *did not insist about Presbyters, becauſe there's no great difference between them and Biſhops: Presbyters, as well as Biſhops, have received Power to Teach and Govern the Church: And the Rules he gave to Biſhops are alſo proper for Presbyters; For Biſhops excel Presbyters, only, by the Power of Ordination; and by this alone they are reckoned to have* more Power *than Presbyters.* Vide Edit. Savil. Tom. 4. p. 289.

Now, 'tis plain to the moſt ordinary attention, That in the Holy Father's Dialect, χειροτονία ſignifies the *Power* of *conferring Orders*, juſt as διδασκαλία and πρεσβεία ſignify the *Powers* of *Teaching* and *Governing*: Conſider, now the *Critical Skill* of G. R.

Bellarmine had adduced this Teſtimony, it ſeems, to ſhew that there was a Diſparity in point of *Power*, between Biſhops and Presbyters, and had put it in Latin, thus, *Inter Epiſ-*

Epiſcopum atque Presbyterum intereſt fere nihil; quippe & Presbyteris Eccleſiæ cura permiſſa eſt: & quæ de Epiſcopis dicuntur, ea etiam Presbyteris congruunt; Sola quippe Ordinatione Superiores illi ſunt. So G. R. has it: I know not if he has tranſcribed it faithfully: 'Tis not his cuſtom to do ſo: Nor have I *Bellarmine* at hand, to compare them. Sure I am the *Tranſlation* doth not fully anſwer the *Original*: But however that is, go we forward with our Learned Author. Theſe are his words.

What he (Bellarmine) *alledgeth out of this citation, that a Biſhop may Ordain, not a Presbyter, the Learned Fathers expreſſion will not bear: For Ordination muſt ſignify either the Ordination the Biſhop and Presbyter have, whereby they are put in their Office, to be different, which he doth not alledge: Or, that the difference between them was only in Order or Precedency, not in Power or Authority: Or, that it was by the Ordination or appointment of the Church, not Chriſts Inſtitution: But it can never ſignify the Power of Ordaining.* Are not theſe pretty plea-

ſant *Criticiſms* on χειροτονία? But the beſt follows. He gives a Demonſtration, that *Ordination* as mentioned by *Chryſoſtom*, can never ſignify the *Power of Ordaining*, For, then, ſays he) Chryſoſtom (*who was ſufficiently a Maſter of words*) *would have ſaid* (mark it beloved, he would have ſpoken *Latin*, and ſaid *Poteſtate Ordinandi*, not *Ordinatione*. And have we not our Author, now, a *Deep-learn'd Gloſſator*? I cannot promiſe a *better* inſtance of his *Critical Skill*: But I hope the *next* ſhall not be *much worſe*.

2. Then, in that ſame *Rational defence*, &c. p. 199. *Sect.* 4. He undertakes to prove the Divine inſtitution of Popular Elections of Miniſters. His firſt Argument he takes from *Acts* 14. 23. The word χειροτονήσαντες muſt needs do it. Now, 'tis none of my preſent task to prove, that that word cannot do it: Whoſoever has conſidered how 'tis uſed in the New Teſtament, may ſoon perceive that; and if our Author had but Read the Book called *Jus Divinum Miniſterii Evangelici*, written by a Provincial Aſſem.

Aſſembly of his own friends, he might have ſeen, that even *they* were Confident it could not do it. Nay, He himſelf, in that ſame *4th Section* acknowledges, it cannot do it. *I deny not* (ſays he) *that this word is ſometimes uſed figuratively, for poteſtative Miſſion, the effect or conſequent of Election, and that by one Perſon, without ſuffrages, as Acts* 10. 41. And I think, after this, it was pleaſant enough to make it do it, for all that: But, as I ſaid, 'tis none of my preſent buſineſs to debate the force of the word with him: All I am concerned for, is to repreſent his ſuperfine *Skill* in *Critical* learning. For,

He tells us gravely, *The word is moſt commonly uſed in his ſence*, viz. as it ſignifies *to chuſe by ſuffrages*: And he proves it, but how? Theſe two wayes. 1. *Of all the inſtances that* Scapula, *in his* Lexicon, *giveth of the uſe of the word, not one of them is to the contrary.* Twenty *diſparate* ſignifications, you ſee, would have imported nothing: And who can doubt but *Scapula's Lexicon* is ane Uncontroverted Standard for the *Eccleſiaſtical*

cleſiaſtical ſignifications of words? But our Author proceeds: 2. *It cannot be inſtanced that ever the word is uſed for laying on of hands: Lifting up, and laying them down, being ſo oppoſite, it is not to be imagined that the one ſhould be put for the other.* And what needed more after this? Yet, leſt this was not profound enough, our Author plunges deeper: He will needs have both the *ſuffrages* of the People, and the *Impoſition* of the Apoſtles hands, to be ſignified by the word χειροτονήσαντες, in that ſame Text *Act.* 14. 23. *The Apoſtles appointed, by Ordination, Elders for the People, upon their Electing them by Suffrages.* And then, in the cloſe of the Section, *I conclude, this being done* κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, *in every Church, the People* Reſpective *chuſing their Paſtors, and the Apoſtles ordaining them, it is clear to have been, generally, the practice of theſe times, and ſo the Inſtitution of Chriſt.*

I told when I began with him, there might be Inſtances, I might have occaſion to adduce, which it might be difficult to reduce to their proper *Categories*; And I am affraid this

this is one; The truth is, 'tis very hard to determine whither *Ignorance* or *Non-ſenſe* can plead the better Title to it: For my part, let them ſhare it between them. I ſhall only inſiſt, a little, on one thing more.

3. Then, one of his Adverſaries, whom he took to task in his *Second Vindication* of *his* Church of *Scotland* (the Author of the *Second Letter*) had uſed the Phraſe [*Chriſtian Philoſophy*] when *G. R.* thought he ſhould have ſaid [*Chriſtian Divinity*] but, if I miſtake not, *G. R.* when he wrote his Anſwer, thought it had been for that Authors credit to have foreborn uſing ſuch a Phraſe: For never did Cock crow more *keenly* over Brother Cock when he had routed him, than *G. R.* did, over the *Letter-man*, on that occaſion.

He told him (2 *Vind.* ad *Let.* 2. §. 24. p. 62, 63. Edit. *Eden.*) *He thought the Commendation of a Miniſter had been rather to underſtand Chriſtian Divinity, than Chriſtian Philoſophy, but we muſt not wonder* (ſays he) *that men ſo ſtrongly inclined to* Socinianiſm *ſpeak in the* Socinian *Dialect.* — *For*

indeed that which goeth for Religion, among ſome men, is nothing but Platonick Philoſophy *put into a* Chriſtian *dreſs, by expreſſing it in words borrowed (ſome of them) from the Bible:* And *the Preaching of ſome men is ſuch Morality as* Seneca *and other* Heathens *taught, only* Chriſtianized *with ſome words*, &c. In ſhort, he purſued the poor *Epiſtler* (as he calls him) ſo unmercifully, that he never left him, till he concluded him ane *Ignorant Talker*, for uſing that *Phraſe*. Now,

Judicious Reader, was it not, indeed, a Demonſtration of Deep thinking, and a penetrating wit, to make ſuch a plain diſcovery, of ſuch a prodigious Spawn, of Hereſies, crowded into one ſingle Phraſe conſiſting of two words, or rather in one Solitary Vocable? I ſay *one Vocable*, for it was the word [*Philoſophy*] which was the *Lerna*: I cannot think the word [*Chriſtian*] was either *Art* or *Part*. *Socinianiſm*, *Academiciſm*, *Stoiciſm* (conſiſtent or inconſiſtent, was all one to our Author) all throng'd together in *one* ſo innocent like ane expreſſion! Sad enough!

How

How *ſad* had it been for *ſorry Epiſtler*, if there had been a greater confluence of ſuch —*iſms* in our Authors learned *Noddle* when he wrote that Elaborate Paragraph? Had they been in it, 'tis very like, they had come out. However, even theſe were enough, eſpecially, having, in their Society, the fundamental Hereſie of *Ignorance*: And yet after all this,

I am apt to believe the poor *Epiſtler* was Orthodox and Catholick in his meaning: I believe he lookt on it as a very harmleſs Phraſe, and intended no other thing by it, than that which is commonly called [*Chriſtian Divinity.*] 'Tis twenty to one, he uſed it, as having found it uſed before him, by very *Honeſt* men, who were never ſuſpected of any of theſe Dreadful Hereſies: The Ancient Lights (I mean) and Fathers of the Church, who had ſcarcely another Phraſe which they uſed more frequently, or more familiarly. Of this I am ſure, If it *was* not ſo, it might *have been* ſo, with him.

My preſent circumſtances do not allow me to Cite them ſo plentifully,

as

as might be done; yet I think, I can adduce the Teſtimonies of half a dozen, whoſe Authority might have ſtood between the *Epiſtler* and all *Hazard*, e. g.

Juſtine Martyr in his Excellent Dialogue with *Trypho* the *Jew*, not only aſſerts the inſufficiency of the *Platonick*, the *Peripatetick*, the *Pythagoræan*, the *Stoick Philoſophies*, &c. But, expreſsly, makes the Ancient Prophets who were inſpired of God, the only true and infallible *Philoſophers* (*Juſt. Opp. Græc.* Edit. *Rob. Steph. Lutet.* 1551. p. 36.) And having told how he himſelf came to the knowledge of Chriſtianity, he ſubjoyns (p. 37.) Ταύτῃ μόνῃ εὑρίσκον φιλοσοφίαν ἀσφαλῆ τε καὶ σύμφορον, διὰ ταύτην δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ φιλόσοφος εἰμι. *I have found Chriſtianity to be the only infallible and uſeful* Philoſophy, *and, on its account, I own my ſelf a* Philoſopher.

Photius in his Μυριοβ. Diſcourſing of the ſame *Juſtin*, as may be ſeen at the beginning of *Juſtin*'s works, Deſcribes him thus, ἦν δὲ φιλοσοφίας μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄριστα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς. *He was a man of our* (that is, the Chriſtian) *Philoſophy.*

Origen,

Origen, in his Learned work againſt *Celſus* (Edit. *Cantab.* 1658. p. 9.) tells him, if it were poſſible for all men, laying aſide the cares of this life, σχολάζειν τῷ Φιλοσοφεῖν *to apply themſelves to the Study of* true *Philoſophy*, what a bleſſing would it be to the world! And the very next words Declare what *Philoſophy* he meant: ἐυρεθήσεται γὰρ ἐν τῷ χειστιανισμῷ &c. *For there may be found* (ſays he) *in Chriſtianity, moſt Noble and Myſterious diſquiſitions*, &c. Again,

Pag. 144. *Celſus* had alledged that the Chriſtians took pains to Proſelyte none but young People, Ignorants, Ideots, *&c.* And *Origen* Replys, it is not true: They call all men σοφὺς καὶ ἀνοήτους, *wiſe and fooliſh*, to the acknowledgement of Chriſt: And what evil is there in inſtructing the Ignorant? Do not you Heathen Philoſophers the ſame? Ἢ ὑμῖν μὲν ὦ Ἕλληνες ἔξεστι μειρακια καὶ οἰκότριβας καὶ ἀνοήτους ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ Φιλοσοφίαν καλεῖν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀντὶ πράττομεν; *Or is it allowable in you O Heathens to call young men, and ſervants, and ignorant people to the Study of* Philoſophy? *But*

we

as might be done; yet I think, I can adduce the Teſtimonies of half a dozen, whoſe Authority might have ſtood between the *Epiſtler* and all *Hazard*, e. g.

Juſtine Martyr in his Excellent Dialogue with *Trypho* the *Jew*, not only aſſerts the inſufficiency of the *Platonick*, the *Peripatetick*, the *Pythagoræan*, the *Stoick Philoſophies*, &c. But, expreſsly, makes the Ancient Prophets who were inſpired of God, the only true and infallible *Philoſophers* (*Juſt. Opp. Græc.* Edit. *Rob. Steph. Lutet.* 1551. p. 36.) And having told how he himſelf came to the knowledge of Chriſtianity, he ſubjoyns (p. 37.) Ταύτην μόνην σύφορον φιλοσοφίαν εὗρον καὶ τὴ καὶ σύμφορον, διὰ ταύτην καὶ ἐγὼ φιλόσοφος εἰμι. *I have found Chriſtianity to be the only infallible and uſeful* Philoſophy, *and, on its account, I own my ſelf a* Philoſopher.

Photius in his Μυριοβ. Diſcourſing of the ſame *Juſtin*, as may be ſeen at the beginning of *Juſtin*'s works, Deſcribes him thus, ἦν δὲ φιλοσοφίας μὲν ἀνὴρ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς. *He was a man of our* (that is, the Chriſtian) *Philoſophy.*

Origen,

Origen, in his Learned work againſt *Celſus* (Edit. *Cantab.* 1658. p. 9.) tells him, if it were poſſible for all men, laying aſide the cares of this life, σχολάζειν τῷ Φιλοσοφεῖν *to apply themſelves to the Study of* true *Philoſophy*, what a bleſſing would it be to the world! And the very next words Declare what *Philoſophy* he meant: ἐυρεθήσεται γὰρ ἐν τῷ χειστιανισμῷ &c. *For there may be found* (ſays he) *in Chriſtianity, moſt Noble and Myſterious diſquiſitions*, &c. Again,

Pag. 144. *Celſus* had alledged that the Chriſtians took pains to Proſelyte none but young People, Ignorants, Ideots, *&c.* And *Origen* Replys, it is not true: They call all men σοφὺς καὶ ἀνοήτους, *wiſe and fooliſh*, to the acknowledgement of Chriſt: And what evil is there in inſtructing the Ignorant? Do not you Heathen Philoſophers the ſame? Ἢ ὑμῖν μὲν ὦ Ἕλληνες ἔξεστι μειρακια καὶ οἰκότριβας καὶ ἀνοήτους ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν καλεῖν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες μὴ φιλανθρωπως ἀντὶ πράττομεν; *Or is it allowable in you O Heathens to call young men, and ſervants, and ignorant people to the Study of* Philoſophy? *But*

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we Christians, when we do the like, must be Condemn'd of inhumanity? Once more

Pag. 146. *Celsus* had objected that the Christians taught privately, *&c.* And *Origen* Answers, they did not refuse to teach publickly, and if people would come to them, they would send them περὶ φιλοσοφίας, *to be taught Philosophy* by the Prophets of God, and the Apostles of Jesus. Whoso pleases to peruse that Excellent Apology for Christianity, may find much more to the same purpose. Nay farther,

St. *Chrysostom*, one of *G. R*'s good acquaintances, has this Heretical Phrase, ane hundred times over: *e. g.* In the *page* immediately preceeding that in which the Testimony is, which his *Learn'dness* Glosst so singularly; the Holy Father, zealous against such as were Christians in profession, only, without a suitable practice, Argues thus, what can one say ὁρῶν οὐκ ἐν ἔργοις ἀλλ' ἐν λόγοις φιλοσοφοῦντας ἡμᾶς, &c. *When he sees us, not in works, but in words only, pretending to be Philosophers?* Or (for all is one with *Chrysostom*) to be Christians? In

In his *ſixth Hom.* on St. *Matt.* He ſays, God permitted the Jews, for a time to offer Corporal Sacrifices, *&c.* ἵνα αὐτὸς κατὰ μικρὸν τὴν συνηθείας ἀποστάσας ὅθι τὴν ὑψηλὴν ἀγαγὴ φιλοσοφίαν, i. e. *That by degrees he might lead them to the Elevated* (i. e. the Chriſtian) *Philoſophy.* And doth not the ſame Father in the ſame *Homilies* on *Matt.* call our Saviours Sermon on the Mount ἄκρον τὴν φιλοσοφίας, *The Top of all Philoſophy?*

And in his *4th Hom.* on 1 *Cor.* He diſcourſes elegantly how Chriſt by the Doctrines of the Croſs, and Evangelical Polity, and true Godlineſs and the future judgment, *&c.* πάντας ἐπέδειξε φιλοσόφους, hath *made all men*, *Ruſticks*, *Ideots*, &c. Philoſophers.

Neither is this Phraſe leſs frequent with the Latin Fathers: I ſhall only inſtance in *two*, but ſuch two as moſt men uſe (at leaſt ought) to Read, who have a mind to know any thing of Antiquity. St. *Cyprian*, I mean, and *Vincentius Lirinenſis.*

St. *Cyprian* in ane Epiſtle to *Cornelius*, the 57 in number, (if I remember right, according to *Rigaltius*'s Char-

Characterizes *Novatianus* to this purpoſe, *Magis Durus Secularis Philoſophiæ pravitate, quam Philoſophiæ Dominicæ lenitate Pacificus:* And in his Excellent Sermon *De Patientia*, *Nos autem, Fratres Chariſſimi, qui Philoſophi non verbis, ſed factis ſumus*, &c. We Chriſtians who are Philoſophers, not in words but in deeds, *&c.* And

Vincentius in the 30*th* Chapter of his *Commonitorium* admires the *Cœleſtis Philoſophiæ Dogmata*, the Doctrines of the *Heavenly* (*i. e.* the *Chriſtian*) *Philoſophy.* Indeed,

Some of theſe primitive Glory's of the Church, give us a Solid Reaſon for both the Orthodoxy and the Propriety of the Phraſe. I cannot tell what notion G. *R.* has of *Philoſophy*; But I am pretty ſure, according to S. *Juſtin*'s and St. *Auguſtines* notion of it, it is a moſt proper name for our Holy Religion.

Juſtin (ut ſup. p. 33.) tells *Trypho*, thus, ἔστι γὰρ τῷ ὄντι φιλοσοφία μέγιστον κτῆμα καὶ τιμιώτατον θεῷ, ᾧ τε προσάγει καὶ συνίσησιν ἡμᾶς μόνη, καὶ ὅσιοι ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔτοι εἰσὶν οἱ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἢ νῦν προσεχηκότες. *True Philoſophy is the Richeſt*

Richeſt and moſt Honorable poſſeſſion in the ſight of God. 'Tis that which brings us near, and commends us to him: And they are all truely holy, who apply themſelves ſeriouſly and heartily to the practice of true Philoſophy. And (pag. 34. he defines Philoſophy thus, ὄντος γὰρ τοῦ ὄντος ἡ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἐπίγνωσις, εὐδαιμονία ἡ ταύτης ἡ ἐπιστήμης, καὶ ἡ σοφίας γένεσις. *Philoſophy is the Knowledge of God and the acknowledgment of the Truth* (i. e. of Chriſt, as I take it) *and happineſs is the reward of this wiſdom and knowledge.* And,

St. *Auſtin*, (with whoſe works G. R. ſhould have been well acquainted, when he adventured to give him the Commendation of being *the great Light of the Latin Church*, as he doth in that ſame 24. *Sect.*) in the firſt *cap.* of his 8*th Book De Civitate Dei*, Diſcourſes thus. *Cum Philoſophis eſt habenda Collatio quorum ipſum Nomen, ſi Latine interpretemur, amorem Sapientiæ profitetur: Porro, ſi Sapientia Deus eſt, per quem facta ſunt omnia, ſicut Divina Authoritas, veritaſque monſtravit, verus Philoſophus eſt Amator Dei.* The word *Philoſophy* (ſays he) *ſignifies*

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the Love of Wisdom: But God is Wisdom, as himself hath said in his word; and therefore a true Philosopher is a lover of God. And,

In the *ninth Chapter* of that same Book *Philosophari est amare Deum— Unde Colligitur tunc fore beatum Studiosum Sapientiæ (id enim est Philosophus) Cum frui Deo Cæperit.* i. e. *To Philosophize is to love God: One is then a true Philosopher when he begins to enjoy God*, &c. Nay,

Tho G. R. should reject the Authority of these and twenty other Fathers, who have used and justified the Phrase, it were no difficult task to find enough of Modern Writers, who have used it, tho' they were neither *Stoicks*, *Platonists* nor *Socinians*; But I shall only recommend to him two who were his Predecessors in that same *Chair*, which he, now, so worthily possesses. Doctor *Leighton* I mean, in his *Valedictory Oration*, lately published, and Mr *Colvil* in his Treatise about *Christian Philosophy*. And now,

Let our Authors *Ignorance* and his *Ill-nature* debate it between them,

to

to whither he was moſt obliged when he ſo fiercely ſcourged the poor *Epiſtler*, for talking ſo *Heretically* of *Chriſtian Philoſophy*. By this time, I think, the Reader may have got a ſufficient Taſte of our Renowned *Vindicators* ſingular *Learning*. Proceed we now

II. To his next *Cardinal Virtue*. Profound *Learning*, ſuch as our Authors, is a teeming Mother, and commonly produces Congenial Brood, plentifully. Indeed, never was Author's more Prolifick. His Learning has produced crouds of *Myſteries*; But ſuch *Myſteries* as plain ſpeaking people, commonly, call *Non-ſenſe*.

It were *Non-ſenſe*, indeed, to inſiſt on all inſtances of this nature, which beautify his writings: Such as his pretty poſition, *That all Ceremonies of Gods worſhip are worſhip themſelves* (*Animadv.* on *D. Still. Iren. p.* 30.) His pleaſant *Fetch* about *Ceremonies that ſtand in the place of the* Competentes *or* Catechumeni, (*Rational Defence*, &c. p. 72.) His Judicious Concluſion, *That the Affirmative part of the Second Commandment, is, that we ought to worſhip* God

in the way prescribed in his Word, (*ibid.* 125.) His sublime notion about the *Unity* of the Church in the Case of the *Lutherans* (ibid. 148.) *We shut not out the* Lutheran *Churches* (says he) *from all possibility of Union with them; We can have Union with them, as Sister Churches; But we cannot partake in their instituted parts of worship.* His surprizing proposition, *viz. That the two Governments* (Presbytery and Monarchy) *of Church and State, have suted one another, many ages, since the Nation was Protestant* (2 *Vind.* §. 11. *p.* 14.

It were to *Vie* with him for his own *Talent*, I say, to insist on all these, and many more, such, which are to be found in his Matchless writings. I shall, therefore, mention only three or four of his most *Elaborate Mysteries*. And

1. Our Judicious Author wrote *Animadversions* on *Doctor Stillingfleet's Irenicum*, and you may judge of the Metal of the whole by this one *Specimen*, which you have not far from the beginning.

D. Still. (p. 2.) had laid down this Foun-

Foundation, "that difference of o-
"pinion about a point, and proba-
"ble Arguments brought on both
"ſides, by wiſe and able men, if it
"be not a matter of neceſſity to ſal-
"vation, gives men ground to think
"that a final deciſion of the matter
"in Controverſie was never intended
"as a neceſſary means for the Peace
"and Unity of the Church.

Againſt this poſition G. R. Reaſons thus (p. 5.) *If any things not neceſſary to Salvation, be ſo Neceſſary to be clearly revealed, that we are to look upon them as not Chriſts Truth, if there remain a Controverſie about them, managed with ſpecious Arguments, on both ſides, among wiſe and able men, much more, things neceſſary to Salvation muſt be thus clearly revealed, ſo that there is no truth in them, if they be ſo Controverted; but the conſequent is moſt falſe and abſurd. Ergo,* &c. Let the Reader try his skill on this *Myſtery*, and fathom the *depth* of it, if he can.

2. The next *Myſtery* I thought to have inſiſted on, is that grand one about the *Decrees* of God, (2 *Vind.*

p. 66.) *viz.* That God has a *Decree* that's *Præteritum as ane Act of Soveraignty*, and a *Decree* that's *Prædamnatum*, *as ane Act of Juſtice.* But I am told, this has been ſufficiently repreſented already: And therefore I ſhall ſay no more about it, but this, that there is no Reaſon to think, it was a *Typographical* Error: For, after it was thus Printed in *Scotland*, it was Reprinted in *England* without Alteration or Correction; So that there's all the Reaſon in the world to impute it to the Author: But, if ſo, was he not, at beſt, a *Myſterious Theologue*? But

3. The next I ſhall produce, tho' not ſounding ſo directly towards blaſphemy, is every whit, as good *Myſtery.* The Story is this.

Doctor *Stillingfleet*, in his *Unreaſonableneſs of the Separation from the Church of* England, forbore to ſuſtain the Lawfulneſs of *Liturgies*, &c. Becauſe Doctor *Falk'ner* had done it ſo well before: But our Author had *made ſome Collections on the ſubject* (*Ration. Defen.* &c. *p.* 222) And it was pity they ſhould be ſtifled; And there-

therefore they behoved to be publiſhed. I am not to inſiſt on every thing that is *Myſterious* in that Learned Diſquiſition on the ſubject of *Liturgies*, with which he has *bleſt* the *Iſland*. One thing ſhall ſuffice.

In his burning zeal againſt *Liturgies* or *Set forms*, he advances this propoſition (among many others) *That it is Unlawful to worſhip God by a frame of ſervice, that is not warranted in the word, both as to its Matter and Manner.* (pag. 226. Sect. 8.)

This I prove (ſays he) 1. *From Chriſts Condemning the Traditions of men, as vain worſhip*, Matt. 15. 9. *They taught theſe Traditions*, i.e. (ſaith Lucas Brugenſis in Locum) *they followed them, and taught others to follow them. The ſame Author calleth theſe Mens Traditions, that are ſo, of men, that they are not of God, or are deviſed by man*; ibid. *So alſo*, Vatablus, Eraſmus, Maldonate, Tirinus, Piſcator, Calvin *and* Chemnitius, *ſay, Here is meant whatever is brought into Religion without the word: Now it is Manifeſt that a frame of Divine ſervice not warranted in the word falleth*

under this General Head. Thus you have all theſe Gentlemen, *Lucas Brugenſis*, *Vatablus*, *Eraſmus*, &c. (tho' ſome of them were *Papiſts*, ſome of them *Lutherans*, and not one of them but own'd and uſed *Liturgies*) ſtrong againſt *Liturgies*, it not *directly*, at leaſt by *plain conſequence*. But our Author proceeds.

Secondly, *The Lord condemneth all worſhip offered up to him, that he hath not Commanded*, Jer. 7. 31. (turn to the Text and try if it is not pertinently adduced) *Where not being commanded, but deviſed by men, is made the ground on which that practice (tho' otherwiſe evil alſo) is Condemned: And* Jeroboam's *Frame and way of ſervice is Condemned becauſe* Deviſed (*Heb.* Created) *of his own heart*, 1 Kings 12. 33.

Thirdly, *Even Reaſon teacheth that God ought to chuſe how he will be honoured, or worſhiped by his Creatures. He beſt knoweth what will pleaſe him: And his Soveraignty in all things muſt eſpecially appear in this that himſelf is ſo nearly concerned in. This is a principle ſo rooted in nature, that among*

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the Heathens, they that contrived their Liturgies, or ways of worſhip, behoved to pretend Revelation from their Gods, to guide them in this. It was never heard of among the more Religious Heathens, that Religion, or the manner of worſhipping their Gods was enjoyned only by Mans Authority, and diviſed only by him. Yea, in the ſo much magnified Roſary *of the Virgin* Mary, *It is alledged that Saint* Dominicus *had it revealed by the* Virgin *her ſelf, that this* Form *of ſervice was moſt acceptable to her; And it is added,* That ſhe was fitteſt to chuſe what way ſhe would be worſhipped. *I hope they,* (the Papiſts) *and ſuch as ſymbolize with them,* (thoſe of the Church of England) *in ordering of the worſhip of God, will give us leave to ſay the ſame of her Bleſſed Son.*

Fourthly, *For the* Matter *of worſhip, I think, it will not be Queſtioned, whither that muſt be appointed by God, or not; — But even the FRAME, COMPOSURE and MODE of Divine worſhip ſhould have Divine warrant, otherwiſe, it is not acceptable to God,* &c. Now,

Not to make much needleſs work; Conſider 1. our Authors great buſineſs was to prove the Unlawfulneſs of *Liturgies*, or *Set-forms* of Prayers, *&c.* in the publick worſhip. Conſider 2. that he (as his *Sect*, generally,) is againſt uſing the *Lords Prayer*, the only Prayer I can find of Divine Inſtitution, in the New Teſtament, as to the MATTER, FRAME, COMPOSURE and MODE of it. Conſider 3. that our Author would be very angry, and complain of horrid injuſtice done him, if you ſhould charge him with *Quakeriſm*, or praying by immediate inſpiration: For who ſo great enemies to *Quakers*, as *Scottiſh* Presbyterians? Conſider 4. if his Arguments can conſiſt any better with *Extemporary* Prayers, which are not immediately inſpired, and, by conſequence, cannot be of Divine Inſtitution, as to MATTER, FRAME, COMPOSURE, and MODE, than with *Set-forms* which are not of Divine Inſtitution as to MATTER, FRAME, COMPOSURE, and MODE. Conſider 5. in conſequence of theſe, if

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we can have any *publick Prayers* at all: And then conſider 6. and laſtly, if our Author, when he wrote this *Section*, had his *zeal* tempered with *common ſenſe*; and if he was not *knuckle-deep* in right *Myſterious* Theology. But as good follows: For

4. Never man ſpoke more *profound Myſteries*, than he hath done, on all occaſions, in his ſurprizing accounts of the *Church* of *Scotland*. He tells us of a *Popiſh Church* of *Scotland*, ſince the *Reformation*, and a *Proteſtant Church* of *Scotland*.

He tells us, (1 *Vind. Anſw.* to *Queſt.* 1. §. 10.) *Presbyterians do not ſay that the Law made by the Reforming Parliament*, Anno 1576, *took from them* (the Popiſh Biſhops) *the Authority they had over the Popiſh Church* — *but it is Manifeſt, that after this Law, they had no Legal Title to Rule the Proteſtant Church.*

This ſame, for once is pleaſant enough: The *Reforming* Parliament, while it *defined* the Church of *Scotland* (and it *defined* it ſo as to make it but *one*, as is evident from *Act.* 6. which I have tranſcribed word for

word

word in my Book, allowed of *two Churches* of *Scotland*, two *National* Churches in one *Nation*. But this is not all:

He hath alſo ſubdivided the *Proteſtant Church* of *Scotland*, into *two Churches* of *Scotland*: The *Presbyterian Church* of *Scotland*, and the *Epiſcopal Church* of *Scotland*.

He inſiſts very frequently on the *Presbyterian Church* of *Scotland*. Thus, in his *Preface* to his *Firſt Vind.* of his Church of *Scotland*, in great ſeriouſneſs, he tells the world that, *that which is determined concerning all them that will live Godly in Chriſt Jeſus, that they muſt ſuffer perſecution, is, (and has long been) the lot of the* PRESBYTERIAN *Church of* Scotland. And in his *Preface* to his 2 *Vind.* §. 7. *I have, in a former paper pleaded for the* PRESBYTERIAN *Church of* Scotland, *againſt ane Adverſary*, &c. And in Anſwer to the *Hiſt. Relat.* of the *Gen. Aſſ.* §. 12. his Adverſary had ſaid, *that General Aſſembly was as inſufficient to repreſent the Church of* Scotland, *as that of* Trent *was to repreſent the Catholick Church.* And G. R. readily

readily replys, *but he cannot deny that it repreſented the* PRESBYTERIAN *Church, and was all that could be had of a* PRESBYTERIAN *Aſſembly.*

He is as frank at allowing ane *Epiſcopal Church* of *Scotland*: Thus, (in *True Repreſent.* of *Presb. Governm.* in *Anſw.* to *OB.* 10.) *The Miniſters that entered by and under Prelacy, neither had, nor have any Right to be Rulers in the* PRESBYTERIAN *Church* — *Whatever they might have in* ANOTHER *Governing Church* (*i. e.* the Epiſcopal Church) *that the State ſet up in the Nation*, &c. And more expreſsly, in *Anſw.* to the Hiſt. Relat. of the *Gen. Aſſ.* 1690. §. 3. *Again* (ſays he) *tho' we own them* (the Prelatick Presbyters) *as Lawful Miniſters, yet we cannot own them as Miniſters of the* PRESBYTERIAN *Church: They may have a Right to Govern the* EPISCOPAL *Church, to which they had betaken themſelves, and left the* PRESBYTERIAN: *yet that they have a Right to Rule the* PRESBYTERIAN *Church, we deny.*

By this time, I think, the Reader has got enough of *Scottiſh National*

Churches

Churches, and their diſtinct Governours and Governments. The *Popiſh Clergy* (even ſince the Reformation was eſtabliſhed by Law) have Right to Rule the *Popiſh National Church* of *Scotland*: The *Proteſtant Epiſcopal Clergy* have Right to Rule the *Proteſtant Epiſcopal National Church* of *Scotland*: The *Proteſtant Presbyterian Miniſters* have only Right to Rule the *Proteſtant Presbyterian National Church* of *Scotland*. By the way,

May not one wiſh, that he and his party had ſtood here? For if the *Epiſcopal Clergy* have *Right* to Rule the *Epiſcopal Church*, and if it was only *Right* to Rule the *Presbyterian Church*, which they had not, why was their own *Right* to Rule *themſelves* taken from them? Are not the Presbyterians *unrighteous* in taking from them *all Right* to *Rule*, when they have *Right* to *Rule* the *Epiſcopal* Church of *Scotland*? But this (as I ſaid) only by the way: That which I am mainly concern'd for at preſent, is, that the Reader may conſider if there is not a goodly parcel of goodly ſenſe in theſe profound Meditations. Yet better follows. After

After all this laborious clearing of marches between *Scottiſh National Churches*, particularly, the *Epiſcopal* and *Presbyterian National* Churches of *Scotland*, He tells you, for all that, they are but *one* Church of *Scotland*: But in ſuch *Depth* of *Myſtery*, as, perchance, can ſcarcely be parallell'd. Take the worthy ſpeculation in his own words. (True Rep. ad OB. 10.) *Let it be further Conſidered* (ſays he) *that tho' we are not willing ſo to widen the difference between us and the Prelatick party, as to look on them and our ſelves as two diſtinct Churches; Yet, it is evident, that their* Clergy *and* we *are* two *different Repreſentatives, and* two *different Governing Bodies of the* Church *of* Scotland: *And that they who are Members of the* one, *cannot, at their pleaſure go over to the* other, *unleſs they be received by them.* Well!

Has he now Retracted his making them two Churches? You may judge of that by what follows in the very next words. For thus he goes on. *Theſe things thus laid down, let us hear what is objected againſt this Courſe* (the Courſe the Presbyterians were purſuing

ſuing with Might and Main, when he wrote this Book, *viz.* That the Government of the Church, might, *primâ inſtantiâ*, be put in the hands of the known ſound Presbyterian Miniſters, *&c.*) *Firſt, this is to ſet up Prelacy among Miniſters, even while it is ſo much decryed; That a few ſhould have Rule of the Church, and the reſt excluded*: Anſw. *It is not Prelacy, but a making diſtinction between Miniſters of* one Society, *and thoſe of* another. *Tho' they be Miniſters, they are not Miniſters of the* Presbyterian Church; *They have departed from it, we have Continued in the good old way, that they and we profeſſed* (for who can doubt that all the *Scottiſh* Prelatiſts were once Presbyterians?) *It is not then unreaſonable, that, if they will return to that* SOCIETY, *they ſhould be admitted by it*, &c. Now,

What can be plainer, than it is, hence, that they muſt be ſtill *two* Churches? He makes them in expreſs terms, *twice* over, *two diſtinct* SOCIETIES: He makes *one* of theſe *Societies*, the *Presbyterian Church*: Of neceſſity, therefore, the *other* muſt

muſt be the *Epiſcopal Church:* And is not this, unavoidably, to make *two Churches?* Yet, neither is this the true *yolk* of the *Myſtery*, as I take it: That lyes here.

That the *Epiſcopal Clergy* and the *Presbyterian Clergy* are *two different Repreſentatives, two different Governing Bodies of the one Church of* Scotland. I remember, our Author in his *Rational Defence of Non-Conformity*, &c. Exerciſed Dr. *Stillingfleet* to purpoſe for talking of ſomething, which, he thought, lookt like *two Convocations* in *England* (*viz.* the *Upper* and the *Lower* Houſes) *He ſeems above* (ſays G. R.) *to make ſuch Convocations, and ſo there muſt be either two Churches of* England (and why not, as well as *three* of *Scotland?*) *Or the* one *Church of* England *muſt be* Biceps, *and ſo, a Monſter.*

Thus our Author, there, (*p* 195.) I ſay, and it ſeems he was mindful of it when he wrote his *True Repreſentation of Presbyt. Governm.* For he was careful, indeed, to avoid the making of his *one* Church of Scotland, *Biceps*, and made it *ſomething* elſe: But

But what *thing*? Your pardon for that! I have neither *Latin* nor *English* name for it: I thought once, indeed, on [*Bicorpor*] But I found it could not do: For he makes not his *one* Church *two* Bodies: What then? I told you already, I can find no name for it: But, if I have any *Idea* of this his *one* Church, she is such a thing as this; *A Body Govern'd by two different Governing Bodies, without one Head.*

That she is a *Body*, I think, cannot be Controverted, for all Churches are commonly own'd to be *Bodies*.

That she is Govern'd by *two different Governing Bodies*, is clear from the *Text*: For thus it runs; *We will not so widen the difference between us and the Prelatical partie, as to look on our selves and them, as two distinct Churches; Yet it is evident, that their Clergy and we are two different Representatives, and two different Governing Bodies of the* Church *of* Scotland.

That she is Govern'd by these two different Governing Bodies, *without one Head*, is likewise evident, for there

is not ſo much as one ſyllable about ane *Head* in the *Text*: And there's all the Reaſon in the world for it; For, beſides the difficulty of joyning *one Head*, conveniently, with *two Bodies*; to what purpoſe, *ane Head* for her, when ſhe is ſo well ſtored of *Governing Bodies*? Are they not received maxims, that, *Non ſunt multiplicanda entia ſine neceſſitate*, and *Deus & natura nihil faciunt fruſtra*? The Definition, then, is unqueſtionable. Well!

Perhaps the Reader may be curious to know how *G. R.* came by this ſuper-fine *Idea* of a *Church*. I have had my conjectures about it; And the moſt probable that offered was this.

No doubt he is wondrouſly well acquainted with *Plato*, otherwiſe, how could he have made the ſingular diſcovery, that *Socinians* and *Stoicks* were *Platoniſts*? Now *Plato*, (*Conviv.* p.322. *Edit. Lugd.* 1590.) as I remember, has a pretty ſtory about a certain *Species* of Rational *Animals* which were early in the world, and which he calls Ανδρογυνα, as if you would

ſay *Man-woman*, or ſo: This Creature had two Faces, two Noſes, four Hands, *&c.* in a word, it was a round Body, which contained both *Sexes* in it, *Man* and *Woman*, as it were, united by their *backs*: It was a vigourous, ſturdy kind of *Animal*, and *Jupiter* turn'd afraid of it, and therefore, to weaken it, and make it more *toward* and *ſubdueable*, he took ane Ax or ſome ſuch ſharp inſtrument, and clave it from *top* to *bottom*, in the very *middle*, as if you ſhould cleave ane *egg* into two equal halves; And then, b[illegible]ing (as you know) a nimble *Mountebank*, he drew together the *skin*, on each back, in a *trice*; and applyed ſome Soveraign Medecines; and both backs were made ſound immediately; and the divided parts of the Ανδρόγυνος, being now Ἀνὴρ and Γυνὴ, *Man* and *Woman*, and having the felicity to look one another in the face, they fell in *Love* with *one another*: And this was the Original of Love, and Courting, and Marriage, and all that. Now, I ſay,

The moſt probable conjecture I can

can make of the way how G. *R.* came by his ſurprizing *Idea* of the *one Church* with the *two different Governing Bodies*, is, that when he Read this ſtory in *Plato*, it made a deep impreſſion on his imagination, and he labouring to outdo *Plato* at nimbleneſs of deſign and invention, fell upon this ſtranger and more ſurprizing *Notion* of a *Church*. But however this was,

I think our Author had Reaſon to ſay (*Animad.* on *Iren.* p. 51.) *That a Church is a ſingular Society, and of another nature than other Societies, and therefore ſhe ought to have a ſingular Government.* For ſure I am, he has given the *one* Church of *Scotland* a *Government* which is *ſingular* enough. One thing is certain.

At this rate, ſhe wants not *Government* nor *Governours*; And, of all the *Churches* in the world, ſhe is likeſt to have the *beſt Canons* and the *juſteſt Meaſures* preſcribed to her: For if the *one Governing Body* preſcribes *wrong*, the *other* muſt readily preſcribe *right*; For never were *two Governing Bodies* of *one Society* in greater likely-

hood of contradicting one another. 'Tis true, the *Governed Body* may be ſometimes puzled about its obedience, and reduced to a ſtate of Heſitation about the oppoſite preſcriptions, whither of them it ſhould follow: But that's but a ſmall matter; Our Authors invention is not yet ſo far decayed but that I can promiſe for him, if he pleaſes, he ſhall as eaſily extricate it out of that difficulty, as he can give ane intelligible account of this his *one Church*, with the *two different Governing Bodies*. Only one thing thing more I add.

Our Learned Author tells us in his *Preface* to this his Book, in which he has this *Myſtery*, that, *it was a work not undertaken at firſt of his own private motion, and that* (before it was publiſhed) *it paſſed ane* Examen Rigoroſum *of not a few Brethren*. Now, if he ſpake truth, here, as I am apt to believe he did not) the world may judge of the accuracy of ſome mens *Rigoroſa Examina*. And ſo much for a Taſte of our Authors ſecond *Cardinal Virtue*. Proceed we now to

III. The

III. The *third*, which (tho' it looks as like *Ill-nature* as ever egg was like another) in complyance with our Authors generous inclinations, I am content ſhould paſs under the name of his *Exceſſive Civility:* I allow it this name, I ſay, becauſe our Author himſelf hath ſo *Dubb'd* it.

For thus he tells us (*2 Vind. Pref.* §. 6.) *I have treated the Adverſaries, I deal with, as Brethren; Deſiring rather to* EXCEED, *than come ſhort in* CIVILITY *and fair dealing with them.*

Never was Author more plentifully furniſhed with this Ingenuous Quality, than *G. R.* Take a *Specimen* of it, from his *Second Vindication*, &c. *Edit. Eden. Anno* 1691; And conſider with what *Exceſs* of *Civility* he treats his Adverſaries.

The Author of the *firſt* of the *four Letters*, that *Military Chaplain* (p. 14.) *that man of a vain mind* (p. 19.) *was Guilty of the Height of Diſingenuity:* (p. 9) *And it was the higheſt Impudence and Sawcineſs for a ſtranger* (ſuch as he was) *thus to reproach the repreſentative of a Nation, where he was ſo civilly treated.* (p. 12.) And yet the

whole Nation knows, the Gentlemen had aſſerted nothing but *Truth*, when he met with this *Civility* from our Author.

The Author of the *ſecond* and *third Letters*, was *blinded with Rage.* (p. 22.) *Was guilty of ſhameful Hypocriſie twiſted with Malice.* (p. 23.) *His words were full of Monſtrous* Hyperbolies, *if not plain forgeries.* (p.) *He expoſed his own folly, malice and ſilly credulity.* (p. 42.) *Was guilty of the higheſt efforts of Malice, blinding the mind, and depraving the apprehenſion of things.* (p. 45) *His ignorant malice not to be anſwered but deſpiſed.* (p. 52.) Judas Iſcariot *was his Predeceſſor* (ibid) *He was a Cholerick* Momus, *whoſe Patron was* Rabſhakeh. (56) He Vindicated the Prelatiſts fron being Perſecutors, *with a confidence in aſſerting Falſhoods, and denying Known-truths, beyond any degree, that any ſort of men, except* Jeſuits, *have arrived at.* (67.) *He told things abſurd above meaſure.* (69) G. R. can convince the Reader (*if the Author of this Letter was the Perſon whom he gueſſed*) *of his moſt abſurd and habitual lying, known to moſt of the*

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Nation, even to a Proverb. (71.) But I am apt to think he gueſſed wrong; But whoever he was, *he wrote in ſuch a violent and inſolent ſtile as deſerved ane anſwer of another nature than a Paper-Refutation*; i. e. the *Gallows*, as I take it.

The fourth Letter was not inferior to any of the reſt in abominable lies and reproaches: (p. 81.) *the moſt bitter invectives that could be invented, fill'ed up this Authors few pages.* (ibid.) *What he wrote, was not to be refuted more than the words of a mad man, or of one raging in a Feaver.* (ibid.) In a word, *this Letter was ſo unexaminable, ſo full of virulent reproaches, and ſo void of any thing that was Argumentative, that it was impoſſible for any man to Anſwer it, except his Talent for railing, and his conſcience to ſay what he would, true or falſe, was equal to that of this Gentlemans.* (ibid.)

The Author of the *Caſe of the afflicted Clergy*, &c. *ſpake rage and fury*, (84) *was a malicious Calumniator*, (89) *a common liar*, (101) *moſt petulantly reproached the Government.* (110) Twenty more ſuch *exceſſive Civilities* he pay'd him.

The Author of the *late Letter*, I think, had done well, to have ſaved himſelf the labour of writing it; for, if he got not his ſhare of G. *R*'s *exceſſive Civilities*, G. *R.* himſelf was miſtaken. *This piece was behind none of the reſt in effronted and bold lies, and to ſay this might be a juſt Refutation of of the whole Book*; (117) This Author *ſpake broad-faced lies*; (ibid.) *Impudent and broad lies, groſs and malicious lies*; *bold Calumnies*; (118) *ſhameleſs lies*; *ſlanderous forgeries.* (119) *He maliciouſly belyed his Nation:* (ibid) *Spate venome:* (121) *Lying and miſrepreſentation were familiar to him*; (122) *He moſt impudently obtruded upon peoples credulity*; (125) *was* perfrictæ frontis; (126) *Nothing, tho' never ſo certainly and manifeſtly falſe, could choak his conſcience.* (ibid.) *He ſpued out the moſt ſpiteful venome that could lodge in ane humane breaſt.* (136) Forty more ſuch *Civilities* he payed him: And it was reaſonable to treat him ſo, for, *The impudent accuſations of this Scribbler, and the obligation that lay on Perſons and Churches to neceſſary ſelf defence, conſtrain'd* G. R. *to treat him thus* Civilly. (137) The

The Author of the *Memorial* (tho' I am apt to think *G. R.* knew he was dead before his *Second Vindication* was publiſhed) got *Civilities* payed him, of the ſame ſtamp, and out of the ſame repoſitory: For, the *Memorial* was a *print full of bitter and unreaſonable invectives,* (137) *full of malicious inſinuations.* (ibid.) *'Twas nothing ſhort of the reſt for moſt groſs falſhoods, in matters of Fact, and moſt injurious repreſentations of the Presbyterain way and principles.* (ibid.) *The Moral Qualities of the Author might be ſeen, by his Book, to be none of the beſt.* (ibid.) *It was a parcel of falſe and malicious Hiſtory as ever was written in ſo few lines.* (ibid.) *It began and ended with lies and railing.* (ibid.) *A man who took Liberty to ſlander, at that rate of impudence, deſerved rather chaſtiſement than ane Anſwer.* (138) The writer was but a *Scribbler.* (139) *He wrote neither like a Chriſtian, nor like ane Hiſtorian.* (140) He wrote *perfect railing.* (ibid.) *He accuſed the Presbyterians, with a bloody mouth, of what hath been a thouſand times refuted as ane horrid lie,* viz. *That the Scottiſh*

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Presbyterians did perfidiouſly give up their King to the Engliſh, *who murdered him.* (ibid.) Now, if there was Reaſon for being at the expence of ſuch ane *exceſſive Civility*, on this occaſion, let the world judge: And, indeed, it is a moſt ſurprizing Defence G. *R.* made for his *Scottiſh* Presbyterians in that matter, why? *He was the King of the* Engliſh (forſooth) *as well as theirs, and they could not withhold him from them.* So that the whole matter was no more than if ane *Engliſh* Ox had *ſtrayed* or been *ſtolen*, and falling into the hands of *Scottiſh* Presbyterians, they had reſtored him, and got ſo much for *reward*; At moſt, it was not the *Oxes* price, it was only *black meal* as we call it. But to proceed, this Author of the *Memorial* advanced aſſertions *beyond what Jeſuitical Impudence it ſelf hath ever arrived at.* (142) And, which is worſt of all, worſe than any thing that ever proceeded from the mouth of *Platoniſt*, *Stoick*, *Socinian* or *Jeſuit*, *He moſt wickedly reproached the Covenant.* (146)

The Author of the *Annotations* on the

the Presbyterian *Addreſs*,&c. *Quibbled more like a Buffoon than a Diſputant,* (147) *and wrote ſo pure railing, as admitted of no other Anſwer, but to brand the whole of it with this* Motto, *that it was void of Truth and Honeſty.* (150)

But God a Mercy on the miſerable Author of the *Hiſtorical Relation of the Gen. Aſſ.* &c. What ane *Heterogeneous* piece of the Creation was he! *The moſt fit Refutation of this Pamphlet, were, to write on the margin of every page,* LIES *and* CALUMNIES. (150) This Author ſpake *broad lies*; (151) *Was a delicious Scribbler*; (156) *His fancy was tinctur'd with malice and prejudice*; (161) *He advanced whole Fardels of lies and malicious repreſentations*; (162) *He gave no proof of either ſenſe or learning in his Book, but many Demonſtrations of ſpite and railing*; (165) *His tongue was ſet on fire of Hell — and his kind reſpects to any man, were indeed a reproach to him.* (166) *He had abandoned all Reaſon and good nature.* (ibid.) *Had a brazen forehead.* (ibid.) *Nothing could eſcape the laſh of his virulent Pen.* (ibid) *His tongue was no*

ſlander.

ſlander. (168) He was nothing but a *Sctoliſt*; (169) A *Cholerick Scribbler.* (170) *His Paper was loaden with lies.* (ibid.) *He was not aſhamed to tell lies in the face of the Sun.* (171) *He had ſo inured himſelf to the fouleſt* lies *and* calumnies, *that he could hardly ſpeak or write truth.* (175) *He was a Reviler;* (182) *A railing Scribbler who Cenſur'd and Condemned all Presbyterians without wit or diſcretion.* (114) In ſhort, *He was a ſnarling curr,* (191) *and a ſpirit of lying had poſſeſt him.* (192)

Thus, I think, I have given a Taſte of our Authors *exceſſive Civilities* to the Adverſaries, he Anſwered in his *Second Vindication:* What a formidable Author had he been if he had ſuffered himſelf to have Treated his Antagoniſts with ſuch *juſt*, (not to ſay *exceſſive*) *ſeverities* as they deſerved! What Authors have theſe been, to whom ſuch Treatment was nothing elſe than *exceſſive Civility*? So ſtrangers might think who were not acquainted with *G. R.*'s *nature. His nature*, I ſay, for, indeed, it ſeems to be *natural* to him, to *exceed* thus in *Civility* towards all the Authors he ever

ever dealt with; at leaſt, ſo far as I can learn by ſuch of his *Books* as I have had the *luck* to be *Edified* withal. Thus,

In his *Preface* to his *firſt Vindication*, he *diſcharges* thus againſt the Author of the *Ten Queſtions*, &c. *Now when their* (the Prelatiſts) *hands are tyed that they can no more afflict her* (his Presbyterian Church of *Scotland*) *their Tongues and Pens are let looſe to tear her without mercy, by the moſt virulent invectives, and the moſt horrid lies and calumnies that their wit can invent.* And in *Anſw.* to *Queſt.* 4. §. 2. He adorns him with the honourable Title of *Controverſal Scribbler*. And the firſt words of his *Anſwer* to the *6th Queſt.* are ſingularly complemental. *It may be obſerved from this Authors conduct* (ſays he) *in his Pamphlet, what it is to be fleſhed in bold averring of what all the world knoweth to be manifeſt untruths: ſome by boldneſs and frequency in telling lies have come at laſt to believe them as truths*, &c.

I have alſo ſeen two Books written by him, againſt D. *Stillingfleet*; One againſt his *Irenicum*, another againſt his

his *Unreaſonableneſs of the Separation*, &c. In both G. R. is *exceſſively Civil* to the Dr. after his wonted manner.

In his *Preface* to *Animad.* on *Iren.* he ſays the Dr. *expoſed himſelf between principle and preferment.* In the Book, he calls him ane *Abettor of Scepticiſm.* (p. 5) *For the moſt part he doth nothing but* magno conatu nihil agere. (18) *He evidently Contradicts himſelf*, and G. R. wonders *to meet with Contradictions, ſo often, in ſo Learn'd ane Author.* (22) *Contradictions are no Rarities in him.* (27) *It was impudently ſaid by the Doctor that our Saviour kept the Feaſt of the Dedication.* (124) *His propoſitions are ſuch Reflections on Scrip. that any but a Papiſt may be aſhamed of.* (132) Theſe and twenty more ſuch *Regular Civilities* he pays him.

He is more *Civil* to him, yet, in his *Learned Anſwer* to the Doctors *Unreaſonableneſs of the Separation*, &c. The Doctor wrote *unexpected incoherencies*: (p. 4) Uſed *wonderful confidence.* (9) *Jeer'd the zeal and warmth of Devotion*, (16) *was blinded with paſſion.* (20) *a Taunter.* (21) Advanced *falla-*

fallacious, if not falſe Hiſtory. (41) *Would have things ſo, and ſo, in deſpight of Hiſtory.* (50) *Woe to the world if ſuch falſe and partial Hiſtory carries the Day!* (52) (Juſt the ſame upon the matter with his *woe to poſterity if the lying ſtories which ſome have printed, and, with bold impudence, avouched, paſs with them for Authentick Hiſtories.* Pref. to 2 Vind. §. 1. So that the Readers of that Vindication need not be much amuſed with ſuch *Cant:* It follows of *Courſe* with our Author.) But to go on with his *Civilities* to Dr. *Still.* the Doctor uſed *Ratiocinations that would better become Phariſees.* (68) Aſſerted things *ſo raſhly and falſely*, that G. R. had no name for ſuch *Aſſertions.* (69) *His prejudices darkned his underſtanding.* (85) *He made a mad expoſition of the Second Commandment.* (125) *Stretched and forced Scripture.* (126) *Spake things beyond comprehenſion.* (148) *Made unbecoming Reflections on the word of God.* (189) *Uſed ſorry ſhifts*, &c. (204) *Outfaced plain Light.* (206) *Wearied not of writing beſide the purpoſe.* (210) Advanced *Conceits unworthy of a Divine, and only fit for* Simon Ma-

Magus. (214) *He did not Act the part of a Disputant, or a Casuist, but of somewhat else*, our Author thought shame *to name.* (275) These and God knows how many more such wonderful *Civilities* he payed the Doctor: Particularly two, for which, no doubt, G. R. stretcht his invention. *D. Still.* had said something concerning the *English* Ceremonies ('tis no great matter what it was) and G. R. Replys, wittily, (p. 55) *This is so indigested a notion that it doth not well become the Learning of Doctor* Stillingfleet, *tho' it be good enough for some to rant with, over a pot of Ale.* How many good glasses of *Forty-nine* (*alias*, good *Sack*) has our Author got for this! Again, the Doctor had said that the *Cross* in *Baptism* was a Ceremony of admitting one into the Church of *England*. *But I doubt* (says G. R.) *it will prove but a Mouse brought forth by the long labour and hard throes of a Mountain.* Was not this a pure Flight! a lofty Paraphrase on *Parturiunt Montes!*

Thus we have seen a sample of his *excessive Civilities* to such single persons as had the Honour to be his Adversaries,

verſaries. What a pity had it been, if ſuch *Civilities* had been only diſpenced to half a dozen of Individuals! Our Author, no doubt, was ſenſible of this, and therefore, he has even thought fit, when he had occaſion to extend them to whole Churches, particularly, the *Epiſcopal Church* of *Scotland*, and the *Church* of *England*. Indeed,

The whole *Body* of the *Epiſcopal* Clergy of *Scotland* have got a large ſhare of his *Civilities*: Take this *Specimen*, only from his *Second Vindication*, &c.

Presbyterians are all *Jacob's*, and *Prelatiſts*, *Eſau's*. (Pref. §. 1.) *Presbyterians*, the *ſeed of the Woman*, *Prelatiſts*, *the ſeed of the Serpent*. (ibid.) The Prelatiſts are a *ſpiteful and clamorous ſort of men*: (§. 5.) *Men enraged by being deprived of the opportunity they had to perſecute their Neighbours*. (Book p. 1) *Their courſe is Diametrically oppoſite to Moderation*. (p. 2) They are men of *mean ſpirits and Mercenary ſouls*: (4) *Unfaithful men*: (17) *Men who uſe Unmanly as well as Unchriſtian ſhifts*. (25) *Moſt of them who*

were put out (i. e. thruſt from their habitations and the exerciſe of their Miniſtery, ſince the beginning of the late Revolution) *were put out by their own Conſciences.* (36) *Arminians.* (60) *Socinians.* (61) *The contempt of the Miniſtery came from the Atheiſm and debauches of the Clergy.* (64) *Their immoral men may be counted by hundreds.* (65) They are *generally liars.* (70) *Men who expoſed the Nation to the reproach of Barbarity.* (24) *Men of a reſtleſs temper, embittered in their ſpirits by what inconveniency they are fallen into from the eaſe and dominion over their Brethren, which they lately had.* (84) Men, *juſtly loathſome and a burden to the People.* (99) *Inſtead of feeding their Flocks, they worried them.* (103) *Inciters to and abettors of Perſecution.* (126) *A Faction that indulged debauched men in their immoralities.* (166) *Hundreds of their party guilty of groſs immoralities, for one Presbyterian.* (166) *Their debauchery tempts people to count all Religion a ſham.* (173) *Generally favourers of Popery.* (paſſim) *Men who are wiſer than to comply with the preſent Eſtabliſhment of the Church, from which, 'tis*

like

like, they would have been excluded for their immoralities or errors. (5) And God knows how frequently he makes them, generally, *Ignorant*, or *Erroneous*, or *Scandalous*, or *Supinely Negligent.* This I think may ſerve for a *Tryal* of his *exceſſive Civilities* to the *Scottiſh Clergy.* Well!

But is he as *Civil* to the *Church* of *England?* Take a Proof from his *Rational Defence*, &c. Thoſe of the *Church* of *England*, *ſeem wiſer than Chriſt and his Apoſtles, from whom they do manifeſtly and confeſſedly differ, in the things Controverted,* between them and the Nonconformiſts. *(p. 71) They are either ſtrangers to* England, *or ſtrangely byaſſed, who ſee not cauſe to complain of the Ignorance, Idleneſs, and Vicious Converſation of the* Engliſh *Clergy.* (40) *'Tis the ſpirit of the party ſtill to Create trouble to the Church.* (63) *They are ane imperious Superſtitious Clergy, that will be Lords over Gods inheritance, in deſpight of the Apoſtle.* (80) And how often doth he call them, *Liars, Miſrepreſenters, Calumniators*, &c.? (vid p. 66, 274. 275, 276, *&c.*

I ſhall only mention one inſtance

of the *Engliſh* Epiſcopal Knavery which G. R. reſents very highly. You may ſee it pag. 276. *I have met with another inſtance* (ſays he) *of Epiſcopal ingennity, for expoſing the Presbyterians among the Foreign Churches. It is in a Letter of the famous* Bochart, *dated* Nov. 2. 1680. *in Anſwer to a Letter from* Doctor Morley, *wherein the* Doctor *repreſenteth the Presbyterian principles in three poſitions, whereof the* third *is a* GROSS CALUMNY— *The poſition is*, Reges poſſe vi & armis a ſubditis cogi in ordinem, & ſi ſe præbeant immorigeros, De Soliis Deturbari, in Carcerem Conjici, Siſti in jus, per Carnificem denique capite plecti. *i.e. That Presbyterians maintain, that Subjects may call their Soveraigns to ane account by Force of Arms, and if they are ſtubborn, incorrigible Soveraigns, they may caſt them in Priſon, Judge them, Sentence them, and order the Hangman to give them a caſt of his craft.* And now, kind Reader, judge impartially, was not this a *Groſs Calumny*? What impudent lying Rogues muſt theſe *Engliſh* Prelates and Prelatiſts have been, who ſo *Groſsly Calum-*

lumniated ſuch Eminently Loyal Subjects, ſuch True Friends to Monarchy, ſuch unqueſtionable *Paſſive-obedience*, and *Non-reſiſtance-men*? But, return we to our Author.

One thing may be pleaded in his behalf; It is, that this his *Rational Defence*, &c. (as he ſays himſelf) was written about the time that *K. J.* came to the Throne, *i. e.* ſome four years before the *late Revolution*; and at that time it was excuſeable in him to tell his mind freely about the *Engliſh* Clergy; Becauſe, he was, then, a Non-conformiſt in *England*, and ſuffering under their Yoke: But now that Presbytery is Eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*, and he has got a *Poſt* there, in which he can *live* to purpoſe, his temper is become a little ſweetned, and he will not any more be ane Enemy to the *Engliſh* Clergy. Nay, has he not publiſhed ſo much, lately, in his *Second Vindication*?

True! He has: More, he ſeems to have *promiſed*, at leaſt, *profeſſed* ſo much, not only for himſelf, but for his whole party. He has told the world in his Anſwer to the *firſt* of

the *Four Letters*, §. 12. *That* Scottiſh *Presbyterians are far from interpoſing in the Church of* Englands *affairs: that they are not bound by the* Covenant *to Reform* England, *but to concur, when Lawfully called, to advance Reformation. That 'tis far from their Thoughts to go beyond that Boundary: That they wiſh their Reformation; but leave the management of it to themſelves.* And in his *Anſwer* to the *Caſe of the Afflicted Clergy*, &c. §. 1. he goes a farther length. The Author had ſaid *That the Church of* England *ſhould bethink themſelves how to quench the flames in* Scotland, &c. And G. R.'s Anſwers, *Thus, they ſow diſcord among Brethren, and animate* England *to concern themſelves in the affairs of our Church, when we do not meddle in their Matters.* Here, you ſee, he owns the *Engliſh* Clergy, for no leſs than his *Brethren:* Are they not *Cock-ſure*, now, that they ſhall never have more of his *exceſſive Civilities*? Well! I cannot tell what *may be*, but I can tell ſomething of what hath already *been.*

This ſame *Loving Brother* to the Church

Church of *England* publiſhed his *Rational Defence*, &c. *Anno* 1689, *i. e.* ſince the beginning of the *late Revolution*: And it is evident, his *Preface* was written ſince, likewiſe; For therein he Diſcourſes Rhetorically, *How God, by the late Revolution, hath made us like them that dream, and done exceeding abundantly for us, above what we could think, out-done our Faith, as was foretold* Luk. 18.8. Now,

In that ſame *Preface*, he owns, he publiſhed his Book, then, becauſe he thought it a fit Seaſon, and it ſeem'd allowable, if not neceſſary, *that each party ſhould put in their Claim, and give the beſt Reaſons they could for their pretenſions.* Which, how it conſiſted with deſigns for the peace of the Church of *England*, let herſelf conſider. This I am ſure of, if his *exceſſive Civilities* could be helpful for *unhinging* her, ſhe got them in that *Preface*, with a witneſs. Take this for a Taſte.

He not only exhorts his Readers *to purge the Church of* England, *of bad Men, ane Ignorant, Scandalous, Heady and unſober Miniſtery.* But he farther

Diſcourſes thus, *God will not be at peace with the Church, while ſuch are countenanced; and good men cannot, with any ſatisfaction, behold ſuch ſcandals to Religion, and ſuch effectual Inſtruments of the ruine of Souls continued in the Church: — while ſome effectual courſe is not taken to remove them; The Church is like to have little peace, either with God or in her ſelf: Let all then contribute their endeavours to have the unſavoury ſalt caſt out — if this piece of Reformation be endeavoured, all ranks muſt put hand to it: The People, by diſcovering ſuch, where they are; And not calling nor countenancing them when they want a guide to their Souls: And Magiſtrates, by endeavouring the Regulating of ſuch Laws, as do, in any wiſe, open the door to ſuch men to enter.* And again, *Church Reformation muſt alſo truely be endeavoured by us, if we would have Church peace. It is no token for good when ſinful evils, images of jealouſie which provoke the Lord to jealouſie* (ſuch as Epiſcopacy, the Liturgy, Ceremonies, Holy-days, &c.) *are in the Church; and yet all agree in theſe ways, none lament them, nor reprove*

prove them, nor take care to keep their Garments clean from the Corruptions of the time, &c. Now, that all this is directly intended againſt the Church of *England*, is evident from the whole Contexture of that *Preface*.

By this time, the Reader, I think, has got enough of *G. R.*'s *exceſſive Civilities* to all *Perſons* and *Churches* he has been pleaſed to take notice of. Proceed we now to the laſt of his *Cardinal Virtues*, viz.

IV. His ſingular *Modeſty*: And here a vaſt field opens; for, except the aforeſaid three, there is ſcarcely another of his *Qualities*, good or bad, that makes any conſiderable appearance. But ſo it is, that generally, the *greater* lights obſcure the *leſſer*. Nay ſuch ane *Awkward* Quality is this in our Author, that one would think, It has been at *feud* with it ſelf, and had deſigns for obſcuring its own *Luſtre*; For you no ſooner have found ane inſtance which you may be apt to apprehend, is the very *brighteſt Impudence*; than inſtantly another caſts up, twenty times more *ſplendid*, and before you have got through them all,

all, you are at a loſs again, and you cannot tell which was the moſt *ſurprizing*. But I ſhall only give a *Specimen* of this *Vertue* as I have done of the reſt.

1. Then, the blot of *impudence* might have been charged upon him, tho' he had ſaid no more than what he has ſaid concerning the *Prelatical Scribblers*, (*Pref.* to 1 *Vind.*) *viz.* "That "they uſed a piece of cunning, in "ſpreading their Books in *England*, "only, where the things contained "in them could not be known nor "examined, but there was never "one of them to be found in a Book-"ſellers ſhop in *Scotland*, where moſt "Readers could have diſcovered the "falſhood of their Allegations. And his Brother Mr. *Meldrum* in his Letter ſubjoyn'd to *G. R.*'s *Second Vindication*, inſiſts on the ſame *ingenious Speculation*. And yet both of them could not but know very well, that theſe Prelatick Scribblers might have attempted to have pull'd a Star from the firmament, as plauſibly, as to have got any thing that made againſt the Presbyterians printed in *Scotland*:

One

One thing I can aſſure *G. R.* of; his *True Repreſentation of Presbyterian Government* had not ſeen the light, many days, when a *Licence* was ſought for publiſhing ane *Anſwer* to it; But it could not be obtain'd: And how many innocent Pamphlets have been ſeized by the Government, ſince the beginning of the late Revolution? Did not both theſe Gentlemen know this ſufficiently? And was it not *Impudence* in them, eſpecially in *G. R.* conſidering the *Poſt* he had, to publiſh ſuch a *Calumny*, as that it was the *Conſcience* of the falſhoods were in them, that made his Adverſaries publiſh their *Books* in *England*?

2. Another inſtance of his *Impudence* might be, his ſo frequent inſiſting on the *Loyalty* of his party: Believe him, and no men can be more *Loyal* than *Scottiſh* Presbyterians. *Nothing but malice can make any think that Presbytery is ane enemy to Monarchy.* (1 Vind. ad Queſt. 2. §. 2.) *Our Obedience to Magiſtrates in all their Lawful Commands, and our peaceful ſufferings of unjuſt violence are notour to all that can behold us with ane unprejudiced eye.* (True Rep. ad

ad Ob. 1.) *None maintain more Loyal principles towards Kings than Presbyterians do.* (ibid. ad Ob. 2.) *They always abhorred Rebellion.* (2 Vind. p. 63) Yea, *it is manifeſt, it is not their principle to bargain with their Kings about Allegiance.* (ibid. p. 99) *Our principles are known, that we owe Loyalty, and have payed it, even to ane Idolatrous King.* (i. e. K. J. ibid. p. 115) Who can deny now that Presbyterians are true *Paſſive-obedience* and *Non-reſiſtance* men? Or rather who knows not that this is *Bantering* the *Common ſenſe* of all *Britain*?

3. There's no leſs *Impudence* in the large *Encomiums* he makes on the *Harmleſneſs* and *Innocence* of his party: 'Tis true, and 'tis much, he acknowledges ſometimes, *They are men; They have infirmities; They have been guilty of Exceſſes*, &c. But try him to the bottom, and you ſhall never find him deſcending below theſe Generals: You ſhall not find him acknowledging that any particular inſtance, wherein they *exceeded*, was not very *excuſable*. Thus, he cannot endure to hear that they were, ever, *Perſecutors* or *Rebels*. Not

Not *Perſecutors*, for if they had been Perſecutors, 'tis not to be doubted that the *Prelatiſts* had felt it. But what have they ever felt? Hear him in his *Pref.* to 1 *Vind. It may be thought ſtrange that the men with whom we have to do, ſhould make ſuch Tragical out-cries about their ſufferings, when it may be made appear, that, in the late times, when Presbyterians ſuffered from their hands, any one of many, who may be inſtanced, ſuffered more hardſhips and Barbarous Cruelty, than all of them have endured.* I muſt confeſs, theſe men who ſuffered ſo, have ſuffered to purpoſe; For, I think, it was pretty ſevere for *one man* to ſuffer the deprivation of 5 or 600 livelihoods and have 5 or 600 families, perchance 4 or 5000 perſons to maintain on nothing. I know not how far our Authors skill in *Algebra* may reach, but, I think, in this, he was hard enough for *Common ſenſe*. But this is not all;

Hear him again, in that ſame *Vind.* (ad Queſt. 3. §. 1.) *All unbyaſſed men who know and have obſerved the way of the* one, *and the* other, *while they Alterna-*

ternatively had the Aſcendant, will ſay, that the little finger of the meaneſt Prelate and his underlings was heavier than the loyns of the greateſt Aſſembly of the Presbyterian Church. What Sir, no not the Aſſ. 1645, nor 1648, nor 1649 excepted? And 2 Vind. p. 23. *The ſufferings of the Prelatiſts are but fleabites in compariſon of the bloody laſhes that others ſuffered.* And p. 45. *Their ſufferings are but ſcratches of pins,* &c. And you know, even the tendereſt *nurſes* (ſuch as our Presbyterians are to Prelatiſts) cannot conſtantly preſerve their deareſt *nurſelings* from ſuch accidents. Who can ſay, now, that ever Presbyterians were *Perſecutors*?

Believe him, and they were as little *Rebels. Epiſcopacy* (indeed) *raiſed a Tumult in K. C. Iſts time which ended in its own ruine.* (1 Vind. ad Queſt. 2. §. 3.) And yet in Anſwer to that ſame Queſtion §. 5. *'Tis true they* (the Prelatiſts) *raiſed no Tumults:* For if there is a difference between raiſing Tumults, and raiſing no Tumults, yet it is certain, that they are only *Abſtracts* which *raiſe* them, and *Concrets* do

do *not raiſe* them. Well! were the *Concrets*, the Epiſcopalians innocent of *Tumultuating*? Conſider what follows, *They did what they could to raiſe a war for continuing on the necks of the People, that Yoke that they had wreathed on them, and did effectually draw on a bloody war*, &c. But what did the Presbyterians on that occaſion? Why? How far were they from being *Rebels*! For, thus ſaith our Author (2 Vind. p. 140) *Theſe things* (whatever the Presbyterians did) *were done by the Body of the Nation, met in the moſt orderly repreſentative that the time and caſe could permit; And I deny not that they were* EXTRAORDINARY ACTINGS. Nothing, in theſe times like *Perjury*, or *Treachery*, or *Treaſon*, or *Rebellion* committed by Presbyterians, you ſee; All were EXTRAORDINARY ACTINGS. In ſhort, Presbyterians *are beyond reproaches in the Conſciences of all that know them, and do not hate them.* (2. Vind. p. 37) Now,

'Twas none of my deſigns to render the Presbyterians peculiarly odious, by adducing theſe inſtances: I know

know theſe Crimes are not peculiar to them, I doubt not, many of them are not violently inclined to Perſecution or Rebellion: I doubt as little many of them will be ready to acknowledge they are *peccable* as other men; and things have been done by many of their party, which, ſuch as are *Ingenuous* will not offer to *Apologize* for: That which I was mainly concern'd for, was our Authors *Impudence*: For who ever ſaw greater Impudence than there is in theſe Ridiculous Defences he has been pleaſed to publiſh in Vindication of his party?

4. Another inſtance might be his making his party, ſo frequently, the *only Proteſtants* in the Nation; The only men that *reſiſted*, or *could reſiſt*, or were *willing* to *reſiſt Popery*. Thus, the Author of the *Ten Queſtions* had ſaid (and ſaid truly) *That the Presbyterians accepted and gave thanks for ane Indulgince, notwithſtanding that they knew that all the Deſigns of the Court were for advancing Popery.* How our Author Juſtifies their Thankful Addreſſing to K. J. for ſuch a favour,

ſhall

ſhall be conſidered by and by. That which I take notice of at preſent, is, his Apology for their accepting of that Indulgence. *It had been a ſtrange thing* (ſays he, 1 Vind. ad Queſt. 8. §. 2.) *if they ſhould have been backward to Preach and hear the Goſpel when a door was opened for it, becauſe ſome men had a deſign againſt the Goſpel in their opening of it.* (The Goſpel, you know, was neither Preached nor heard in *Scotland* before a door was opened for it, by that Indulgence: But this by the way.) *Surely their ſilence and peeviſh refuſing on that occaſion, had been much to the hurt of the Goſpel; For, then, Papiſts (who would not fail to uſe the Liberty, for their part) ſhould have had the faireſt occaſion imaginable to miſlead People without ANY TO OPPOSE THEM: On the contrary, their uſing that Liberty was the great mean by which (with the bleſſing of the Lord) ſo very few, during that time of Liberty, were perverted to Popery, in the Nation.* Now who ſhould doubt, after this, that all the *Prelatiſts* were ſilent Encouragers of *Popery*? And that the Presbyterians

were the only People who Preached againſt it zealouſly, and oppoſed it boldly? Here is ſuch a Maſter-piece of our Authors main talent, as I am confident no other Presbyterian in the nation will offer to extenuate, far leſs, juſtify.

He inſiſts on the ſame Theme, in his 2 *Vind.* p. 91. where he tells, *That wiſe men thought that the beſt way to keep out* Popery *was to make uſe of the Liberty for ſetting the People in the right way*, &c. As if there had been no poſſibility of keeping them from turning *Papiſts*, but by making them *Presbyterians*.

5. Near of kin to this, is that other Common Head he ſometimes inſiſts on, *viz.* That all are *Papiſts* or *Popiſhly affected*, who were not for the *late Revolution*. Thus, in his 1 *Vind. ad Queſt.* 9. §. 4. in Anſwer to that Allegation, that the Presbyterians denyed the Kings prerogative of making Peace and War, *&c.* He tells the world, *If this his Argument can caſt any blame on Presbyterians, 'tis this, that there are Caſes in which they allow the States and Body of the Nation*

to

to reſiſt the King ſo far, as to hinder him to root out the Religion, that is by Law Eſtabliſhed among them: And one ſhould think that he might have been, by this time, convinced that this is not peculiar to Prebyterians; But that all the Proteſtants *in* Britain *are engaged in the ſame thing.* And in his *True Repreſent.* (ad Ob. 2) He has theſe plain words, *what was done* (in removing K. J. from his Throne) *was not by us alone, but by all the* TRUE PROTESTANTS *in the Nation, who were indeed Concerned for the ſafety of that Holy Religion.* Now,

'Tis none of my preſent buſineſs to juſtify or Apologize for ſuch as were, or are, againſt the *late Revolution.* Let *Jacobitiſm* be as great ane *Hereſie* as our Author pleaſes to call it: Let him rank it with *Platoniſm* or *Socinianiſm*, if he will: Only, I dare be bold to ſay that it was ane *odd ſtretch* of *Impudence* to make it *Popery.*

I mentioned, a little above, his Apologizing for his party's *Addreſſing* ſo thankfully to *K. J.* for his *Toleration.* And truly his performances that way may paſs,

6. For another inſtance of his having a good *Doſe* of *Brow*, as himſelf commonly calls his own *prime* Accompliſhment. For it was ſuch ane Arrant mixture of Flattery and Hypocriſy, eſpecially when enlightened by their ſubſequent practice, that no *Sophiſtry* can palliate it, ſo, as to make it ſeem innocent: But it has been ſo frequently toſſed already that I need not to inſiſt upon it: Far leſs, am I at leiſure to examine all the ridiculous *ſtuff* our Author has vented about it. Only one thing I ſhall propoſe to the world to be farther conſidered.

Whoſo has Read any of our Authors *Vindications* of his Church of *Scotland*, cannot but have obſerved that, even to loathſomeneſs, he was preciſe in purſuing his Adverſaries, foot for foot, on all occaſions, when *Impudence* it ſelf could afford him any thing to ſay: Yet one thing of very great conſequence, was alledged by the Author of the *Second Letter*, to which he has Anſwered nothing. What elſe could move our Author to this *ſinful* and unſeaſonable *ſilence*, but the

the *Conſcience*, that it was not fit to meddle with it?

The Matter is this: "The Author "of that *Letter*, having Diſcourſed "how amazed the Presbyterians "themſelves were at the *Diſpenſing* "*Power*, upon the publication of *K.* "*J.*'s firſt Proclamation for the *Tolera-* "*tion*; How little forward they were, "at firſt, to accept of it; And how "they complyed not with its deſigns, "till they got a Second Edition of it, *&c.* Offered at conjecturing about the Reaſons which might have induced them, afterwards, to embrace it ſo thankfully and unanimouſly as they did. Amongſt the reſt I find he inſiſted on *this* as *one*, viz. *That they had got ſecret inſtructions from* Holland, *to comply with the Diſpenſing Power in ſubſerviency to the enſuing Revolution:* And he added, that for this, *he knew there were very ſtrong Preſumptions.* Now, *G. R.* I ſay, paſſed this over, in a profound ſilence; which, to me, ſeems a conſiderable preſumption that there was ſome truth in the matter, and the *Epiſtler* had gueſſed right: But if it was ſo; I think the Presbyte-

rian *Addreſs* to *K. J.* for the *Toleration*, may now appear in blacker colours than ever.

I am earneſt not to be miſtaken: I do not Condemn their keeping a Correſpondence with the Court at the *Hague*, on that occaſion: Let that have been done dutifully or undutifully, as it might: All I am concern'd for is this, that, If they kept a Correſpondence there, at that time; if they got encouragement or Advice, thence, to comply with the Toleration; If they were inſtructed to comply with it in ſubſerviency to the enſuing Revolution; If theſe things were, I ſay, then, what a *villany* was it in them to *Addreſs* to *K. J.* in ſuch a manner?

If they had known nothing of any Deſigns for ſetting him beſide his Throne; If they had been privy to no intrigues againſt him; If it had been nothing but a *ſurprize* occaſioned by ſuch ane unexpected Liberty, that prevailed with them to *Addreſs* to him in ſuch Terms, as they did on that occaſion; ſomething might have been pleaded to extenuate their guilt,

at

at leaſt, tho' they had complyed with the Deſigns of the *Revolution*, afterwards, when they ſaw it *prevailing*: Their Ignorance of Intrigues, and the Politick Deſigns were then on foot; and the poſſibility of their having been ſincere when they *Addreſſed* ſo, to him, might have been pleaded in Alleviation of the *Diſhoneſty* of their not performing what they promiſed in their *Addreſs*; And it might have paſſed on with the common croud of infirmities which uſually ſurprize men of weak reſolution in ſuch Critical junctures. But to be on Plots and Intrigues againſt him; To ſnatch at his Conceſſions that they might be in a condition to ruine him; and in the mean time, to make ſuch proteſtations to him; to flatter and cajole him at ſuch a rate, meerly, of Deſign to wheedle him into a deep ſecurity, that they might the more expeditely and effectually ſupplant and ruine him, was ſuch ane inſtance of iniquity, of Antichriſtian craft, of rank and vile cheatry, as can ſcarcely be parallell'd in Hiſtory. And ſo I leave it.

Thus I have given half a dozen of instances, which might be sufficient, in all reason for exposing our Authors goodly *Impudence*: And yet they may be reckoned amongst the most innocent of many scores that might be collected in his writings. But 'tis not my present purpose to pursue him in all his wild careers: I shall therefore, insist only on three or four things more, which, as I take it, may be sufficient to give the world a surfeit of him. The things I am to to take notice of, are some *Impudent shifts* he has betaken himself to, for extricating himself, when, at any time, *he* or *his Cause* was put to it, by any present difficulty. In such Cases, no Rule obliges him; no Law binds him, no Equity bounds him, no Shame bridles him, no sense of Reputation over-aws him. Thus, *e. g.*

7. Before he shall be forced to yield in his Argument, or seem to be *non-plus't* he shall not fail to *furbish* his *Talent*, and make it *keen* enough for combating the *Common sense* of the whole Nation: It were ane endless work to trace him thro' all

all instances he has of this Nature.

What possessions have any (of the Episcopal Clergy) *been deprived of, unless for Crimes against the State?* (2 Vind. p. 6.) now, who knows not that more than 300 who were *outed* by the *Rabble*, were *deprived* of their *Possessions*, and that by ane Act of Parliament, without so much as being *Charged* with any *Crime* or *tryed* by any *Court*? Again,

The Author of the *Second Letter* had called it *K. J.'s Retirement*, when he left *England*, and went to *France*: *So he Termeth* (says G. R. 2 Vind. p. 23) *that which the Parliament called King* James's abdicating *the Government.* Now his Author was a *Scottish* man, and writing upon *Scottish Hypotheses*, and about *Scottish* affairs, so that, if *G. R.* spake *sense*, he spake of the *Scottish* Parliament: But I am satisfied, that the world reckon me as *Impudent* as *G. R.* is really, if there is so much as one syllable, or any thing that looks like ane intimation of King *J.*'s either *Abdicating* or *Deserting* the Government, in any *Scottish Declaration*, or *Law*, or *Claim of Right*;

Right; In any *publick Deed* done by the *Nation.* Again

2 *Vind.* p. 36. He ſays, *That moſt of them who were thruſt out by the Rabble, were put out by their own Conſciences:* But after this, what might he not have ſaid? To trace him thro' all ſuch inſtances, I ſay, would be ane endleſs work: I ſhall therefore confine my ſelf to two; One a *Matter* of *Fact:* Another, a *Matter* of *Right*; or rather *a mixt matter*, in which both *Right* and *Fact* are concerned.

The *Matter of Fact*, ſhall be that ſtory, he ſo frequently inſiſts on, about my Lord *Dundee*'s 2000 men, *&c.* in his *Second Vindication. About the time the Convention of Eſtates was to ſit down, a Deſign was diſcovered (framed by the* Viſcount *of* Dundee *and others) to ſurprize and ſeize the Convention, and for this end had ſecretly got together of* K. J.*'s disbanded Souldiers and others about* 2000 *ſtrangers in* Edenburgh. (p. 11) This Plot did our Author a great many ſervices: *It occaſioned thoſe of the Weſt to gather as many into* Edenburgh *to oppoſe them and ſecure the Convention.* (ibid.) Mark here,

here, they were thoſe of the *Weſt* who *Gathered* the Rabble into *Edenburgh*, and this *Gathering* was only *occaſional*, and of their own proper motion; Mark theſe things, I ſay, and compare them with what follows. Again,

That there was a Deſign to fall on the Miniſters of Edenburgh, *is affirmed on no ground, and without any Truth; Or that the* Colledge *of* Juſtice *Arm'd in their Defence: It was rather on the ſame Deſign on which the* Viſcount *of* Dundee *had gathered forces into the Town, and it was for oppoſing of them, and not for Aſſaulting the Miniſters of* Edenburgh. (ibid. 39) And (p. 40) *The thanks the Rabble got was for their zeal in Defending the Convention from that oppoſite Rabble*, viz. *the* 2000 *men* Dundee *and others had gathered into* Edenburgh, *to have ſeized the Convention.* Again, (p. 96) *That the* Weſtern Rabble *which came to* Edenburgh *in the time of the Convention were in Arms againſt Law*, (ſays he) *is falſe, for they were called by the Authority of the Eſtates as their Guard, when their Enemies had gathered a formidable party into*

into Edenburgh. And *tho' they were together before the* Earl *of* Levin *got the command, yet not before they were called together by the Eſtates.* (ibid.) And (p. 110) *He* (Dundee) *had gathered a formidable party to deſtroy the Convention of Eſtates, and they gathered a force for their own ſecurity.* Now,

One who is a meer ſtranger to *Scottiſh* affairs, finding this *Plot* of *Dundee*'s, ſo confidently aſſerted, ſo frequently inſiſted on, made uſe of to ſerve ſo many turns, would ſeem to have Reaſon to believe that there was really ſuch a *Plot*, and that all this was uncontrovertible *Matter of Fact*. For how is it to be imagined that *one* who undertook to be the *Vindicator* of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſhould talk ſo *boldly* of ſuch a *Recent* Matter of Fact, if there was no ſuch thing *really*? And yet,

The whole Nation knows, this whole Matter is as *Notorious Figment*, as *Arrant Poeſie*, as is in all *Homer* or *Ovid*'s *Metamorphoſis:* For my part, I never ſo much as once heard of it, (and I was at *Edenburgh* for the moſt part, the whole year 1689) till I found

found it asserted by *G. R.* in his *Second Vindication*, *i. e.* toward the end of the year 1691. And let the world judge of its Credibility.

Poets themselves should be careful to *feign* things *Plausibly*: But it seems our Author has never Read so much as the first ten lines of *Horace*, *De Arte Poeticâ*.

That Convocation of the Rabble from the *West*, which was at *Edenburgh* when the Convention of Estates met, would not have amounted to above 6 or 700 men. I saw them actually drawn up between the *Tolbooth* and the *Weigh-house* of *Edenburgh*, upon the 18*th* day of *March* 1689. I am confident they were not 800, yet, tho' they were but a *Rabble*, *raw* and *untrain'd* men, they chased *Dundee* out of *Edenburgh*, tho' he had 2000 *Train'd* and *Disciplin'd* men under his command; and yet the same *Dundee* with scrace 2000 *Untrain'd*, *Undisciplin'd Highlanders* routed near to 4000 *Train'd* and *Disciplin'd* men at *Gillichranky*: But this is not all.

You may observe, he says, it was not to Defend the Ministers of *Edenburgh*,

burgh, that the *Colledge* of *Juſtice* Arm'd, but in purſuance of that ſame Deſign with *Dundee*, *viz.* the ſurprizing and ſeizing of the Convention. Now, *be it know to all men*, that the Convocation of the Rabble which occaſioned the Arming of the Colledge of Juſtice was quite different from that Convocation which was made when the Eſtates met. The *Weſtern* Rabble met firſt at *Edenburgh*, with a Deſign to have inſulted the Miniſters of that City, about the 24*th* of *January*, and their numbers were daily increaſing. The Colledge of Juſtice Arm'd and kept Guard about the 25 or 26*th* of that month. About the middle of *February*, there was a Proclamation over the *Croſs* of *Edenburgh*, *Commanding all in Arms except the Garriſons*, &c. *to Diſband*. Upon this, the Colledge of Juſtice Diſarmed immediately. All this while, *Dundee* was ſo far from having got together 2000 to ſurprize the Convention, that neither was the Convention ſo much as indicted (for the Letters by which it was indicted bear date no ſooner than *Feb.* 5. at St. *James's*,

and

and ſome ſix or eight or ten days, I think, were gone, before they were delivered to all perſons concern'd in *Scotland.*) Nor was *Dundee* as yet come from *England* to *Scotland.* Well!

Was not the *Weſtern* Rabble, which was in *Edenburgh* in the time of the Convention, called by the Meeting of Eſtates for Counterplotting *Dundee*'s Plot? Pure *Poeſie* ſtill! For did not our Author himſelf ſay (p. 11) That *Dundee's having got together* 2000 *men*, &c. *occaſioned thoſe in the* Weſt *to gather as many into* Edenburgh *to oppoſe him*? Now if they were only occaſionally *Gathered* by thoſe in the *Weſt*, how could they be *called* by the Authority of the *Eſtates*? Were thoſe in the *Weſt*, who *Gathered* them, the *Eſtates*? Beſides, I would only ask *G. R.* if he can as readily produce the *Order* of the Eſtates for *leavying* theſe men for Defending the Convention againſt *Dundee*, as I can produce their *Act* for returning *thanks* to them? Let him ſearch all the Records and try if he can find ſuch ane *Order.* In ſhort,

Who knows not that that Rabble

was

was in *Edenburgh* as *early* as the *Eſtates* themſelves? The Eſtates (as all *Britain* knows) met on the 14*th* day of *March*: The Rabble threatned *Dundee* on the 15*th* or 16*th*: He repreſented it to the Eſtates on *Moonday*'s morning, being the 18*th*: He could find no ſecurity for his perſon: He departed therefore from *Edenburgh* with ſome 28 or 30 perſons in his retinue, that ſame day, and never ſaw it again. All this was done before *Levin* got his Commiſſion from the *Eſtates* to *Command* the *Rabble*, or *form* them into *Regular Troops*. Beſides,

Let the world conſider if it required not even *Poetick Expedition*, to have got that Rabble *leavied* by *Order* of the *Meeting* of *Eſtates*. There could not be ane *Order* of the Eſtates for *leavying* them, before the Eſtates met, as I take it: The Eſtates met on *Thurſday* 14*th* afternoon: on *Moonday* the 18*th*, Theſe men were in *Rank* and *File*, on the ſtreet of *Edenburgh*: And many, moſt of them lived at 50, 60, 70, miles diſtance from the City. This, one would think, was

no

no ordinary *Expedition*. And now let any man judge if *G. R.* was not inſpired with a goodly doſe of *Poetick* (*Fire* ſhall I call it? Or) *Fury*, when he laid this foundation of *Dundee's Plot*, and raiſed ſo many pretty ſtructures upon it. And ſo much, of his modeſty in narrating Matter of *meer Fact*. But is he as modeſt at *mixt Matters* where both *Right* and *Fact* are concerned? Conſider him but in *one* inſtance, for brevity.

The Author of the *Second Letter* had given ane Account of Doctor *Strachan's* Defence, when he appeared before the Committee of Eſtates, and was Challenged for not praying for *W.* and *M.* as *K.* and *Q.* of *Scotland*, &c. This, for ſubſtance: *That the Eſtates had found in their* Claim of Right, *that none could be* K. *and* Q. *of* Scotland *till they had ſworn the* Coronation Oath: *For this Reaſon, they had Declared that* James *by Aſſuming the Regal Power, and Acting as* King, *without having taken the* Oath *required by* Law — *had forfeited the* Right *to the* Crown: *That all the Eſtates had yet done, was only the Nomination of* W. *and* M. *as the Per-*

ſons to whom the Crown *ſhould be* offered; *But they had not yet actually made the* offer: *Far leſs had* W. *and* M. *accepted of it: It was poſſible they might refuſe it: But tho' they ſhould not, yet, they could not be* K. *and* Q. *of* Scotland *till they had ſolemnly ſworn the* Oath. *This was not yet done: And therefore he could not ſee how he could Pray for them as* K. *and* Q. *of* Scotland, *nor how the* Eſtates, *in Reaſon, or in Conſequence to their own principles could require it of him.* One would think there was ſome force in this Defence. Yet,

Our Author had ſuch a *Force* of *Impudence* as prompted him to offer at confuting it. But how? *It is known* (ſays he) *that the Exerciſe of the Government had been, long before, tendered to the* Prince, *and that his* Highneſs *had Accepted and Exerciſed it.* True; It was tendered to him on the *tenth* of *January* 168⅞, and he accepted of it upon the 14*th.* But what was this to *M.*? Was the Exerciſe of the Government Tendered to *Her* alſo? Or did this *Tender* made to *W.* and his Accepting of it make him *King*?

King? Was he *King* ever after the 14*th* of *January*?

Obſerve here, by the way, when our Author had the Rabble to Defend, and the Eſtates to juſtify for not reſtoring the Rabbled Miniſters (and the Nation knows, hundreds were Rabbled after that 14*th* of *January*) He could tell it twenty times over that that was ane *Interregnum*, *a State of Anarchy*, &c. So that, if I miſtake not, it may try his *Reconciling Skill* to make what he ſays here, and what he ſaid on theſe occaſions, piece well together. Proceed we now to what he has ſaid more about *Strachan*'s Defence.

The Nations Repreſentative (ſays he) *had then own'd him* (W.) *as their King; and therefore it was a contempt of the Authority of the Nation for any man to refuſe to own him, when called to do ſo.* Now, what could move our Author to ſuch a *ſtretch* of his *main Talent*, as thus to ſay that the Repreſentative of the Nation had owned him as their *King*? I confeſs I am not able to fathom. For, how could they own him as *King* ſo long as he had not ta-

ken the *Oath*, nor Agreed to the *Claim of Right*? If they own'd him as *King* before that, was he not *King* before that? But if he was *King* before that, where is the *uſe* of the *Oath*, or the *Claim of Right*?

The Eſtates, indeed, upon the 11*th* of *April* Declared *W.* and *M.* to be the Perſons to whom they had reſolved to *Offer* the *Crown*, upon ſuch and ſuch *Conditions*, as is evident from that day's *Proclamation*: But the *Letter* of the *Eſtates* by which they actually made the *Offer* of the *Crown*, on theſe *Conditions*, was not written till *April* 24. and the return, bearing that *They* had *Accepted* of the *Crown*, on theſe *Conditions*, is *dated May* 17. And was not Doctor *Strachan* Deprived, even before the Letter of the Eſtates was ſent to *London*? Were not more than 24 Miniſters Deprived before their Majeſties return came to *Edenburgh*? Beſides,

G. R.'s *Impudence*, as *ſturdy* as it is, did not ſerve him, it ſeems, to give a faithful Account of D. *Strachan*'s *Defence*, and grapple with all the force of it: For the Doctor (if the Author

of

of the *Second Letter* was right) made the ſuppoſition, that *W.* and *M.* might refuſe to take the Crown with ſuch Conditions: This was ſo far from being ane Impoſſible, that it was truly a very Reaſonable, a very Equitable, a very Dutiful ſuppoſition: Now, ſuppoſe they had done ſo, would they have been *K.* and *Q.* for all that, by vertue of the Declaration of the Eſtates of the 11*th* of *April*? If ſo, I ask again, what the *Coronation Oath*, or the *Claim of Right* ſignified? Or were the Eſtates to make them *K.* and *Q.* whither they would or not? If, upon that ſuppoſition, they had not been *K.* and *Q.* (as, undoubtedly, they had not been) then, what can be more evident than that the *Proclamation* of the 11*th* of *April*, did no more than *Nominate* them to be *K.* and *Q.* upon their *Agreeing* to ſuch *Conditions*? So that *G. R.* was even himſelf, when he ſaid that the Nations *Repreſentative* had *own'd* them as *K.* and *Q.* before the 13*th* of *April*. I add further,

What tho' they had *own'd* them as *K.* and *Q.* by their *Proclamation* of

the 11*th* of *April*? Did not the whole *Drift*, the whole *Deſign*, the whole *Train*, the whole *Tendency*, the whole *Aſpect*, and the whole *Circumſtances* of the *Deliberations*, *Reſolutions* and *Concluſions* of the *Eſtates* evidently propoſe it to the dulleſt apprehenſion, that the *Crown* was not to be granted to them, but on ſuch and ſuch *Conditions*? This Queſtion I propoſe, for vindicating D. *Strachan* from the guilt of *Contempt* of the *Authority* of the Eſtates, with which *G. R.* charges him: For if the affirmative in the Queſtion be *true*, (and, I think, *G. R.* himſelf dares not to ſay, 'tis *falſe*) then, I ask how it could be called a *Contempt* of the *Authority* of the *Nation* to have refuſed, then, to *own W.* and *M.* as *K.* and *Q.*? How can he be ſaid to *Contemn* the *Authority* of the *Nation*, who *Reaſons* upon the *Nations Authority*? Who *Reaſons* upon the *Force* of all the *Deliberations*, *Reſolutions* and *Concluſions* of the *Repreſentative Body* of the *Nation*? If doing ſo, he doth yet *Contemn* the *Authority* of the *Nation*, I am apt to think, it cannot be his *Fault*: He *doth*

but

but what a man muſt *needs do*, when the *Nation* makes *Repugnant* and *Contradictory Determinations*. But after all this, is it not pleaſant that G. R. forſooth, ſhould ſo zealouſly exaggerate the *Crime* of *Contemning* the *Authority* of the *Nation*? Good Man! He paid it a wonderful *Dutifulneſs* all his life: Far was it ſtill from him to treat it with ſuch *Contempt* as Dr. *Strachan*'s amounted to. But he has not yet done.

He Anſwers further, that it is a *Material miſtake of the words of the Claim of Right*: (that was alledged in *Strachan*'s Defence) *which doth not ſay, none can be King or Queen*, but that *none can exerciſe the Regal Power till they have taken the Coronation Oath: It is certain that on the death of a King, his Rightful Succeſſor is King; and may be prayed for as ſuch; and ſuch praying may be injoined even before taking of the Oath: The ſame may be ſaid of* one Choſen, *and Proclaim'd by the Supreme Authority of the Nation, which is the Caſe now in hand.*

Here is a piece of as *odd ſtuff* as one would wiſh to ſee: For, if it was a

Material miſtake to ſay, *none can be King or Queen*, when it ſhould have been ſaid, *none can exerciſe the Regal Power*, it ſeems to me to have been a *miſtake* made of very *Mathematical Matter*, not of the ſolid *ſenſible Matter*, which can be *felt* and *handled:* For my part I cannot forbear thinking it muſt be compounded of *Negative Quantities*, till I ſhall learn how one can be a *King*, (i. e. *a Perſon who has Right to Rule and Act as King*) who has, yet, *no Right to exerciſe the Regal Power, or Act as King*. I know, one may be *Phyſically* incapable of *exerciſing* the *Regal Power*, and *Acting* as *King*, by himſelf, in ſeveral Caſes, ſuch as that of *Infancy*, &c. yet even then, he has *Right* which is not a *Phyſical* but a *Moral* Quality. Now, I ſay, I would fain underſtand how *one* can be a *King*, without this *Moral Quality*; or how he can have this *Moral Quality*, called *Right*, and yet be *Morally* incapable of *exerciſing* it. I ſhall own *G. R.* is good at *Metaphyſicks*, if he can give ane Intelligible Account of theſe things. Well!

But it is certain, *that on the death*

of

of a King, his Rightful Succeſſor is King, and may be Prayed for, as ſuch, and ſuch Praying may be injoyned even before taking of the Oath: All this is true; But then I affirm it is as true that that *Rightful Succeſſor* who is *King*, may and can *exerciſe* the *Regal Power* and *Act* as *King* before he takes the *Oath.* So, I am ſure, our *Scottiſh* Monarchs have *done:* So the *Law* allows them to *do*, ſo, of neceſſity they *muſt do.* For inſtance, they are not bound, by Law to take the *Oath* but at their *Coronation*: And (not to ſpeak of other things) I think it is truly ane *exerci ng* of their *Regal Power*, and *Acting* as *Kings* to appoint the preparations *for*, the day, the place, the ſolemnities, *&c. of* their own Coronations: For, I think, none other can do it but *the King*, and, if ſo, he muſt do it *as King*, otherwiſe, *another* might do it. But then,

Tho' I have granted our Author this much, that the *Rightful Succeſſor* is *King* before he takes the *Oath*, I think no Reaſon can oblige me to grant what followeth, *viz. That the ſame may be ſaid of* ONE CHOSEN,

and

and Proclaimed by the Supreme Authority of the Nation, which is the CASE NOW IN HAND. For, (not to insiſt on the Liberty our Author hath taken here, to call their Majeſties *Elective Soveraigns*, in oppoſition to ſuch as are *Hereditary*, tho', I think, it was pretty bold in him to talk ſo) I think this is one of the moſt notable differences, between ane *Hereditary* and ane *Elective* Monarchy, that in the *Hereditary*, *the King never dies*, *i. e.* In that ſame inſtant that the Regnant Kings breath goeth out, the Rightful Succeſſor is King: Whereas in the *Elective* Monarchy the *King dies* with the *Man*, and there is no *King* till there is a *New Creation*. This, I think, makes the Caſes pretty wide: And, I think, they are *wider*, yet, when he that is to be the *Elected King*, is not to be *King* at all, till he Agrees to ſuch and ſuch *Conditions*: Who ſees not a vaſt difference between the *Hereditary* and the *Elective* King in this Caſe? But not to preſs our Author farther, and once for all to end this Controverſie about *Strachan's* Defence, take what follows for undoubted Truth. Upon

Upon that ſame very *eleventh* of *April* 1689, on which the *Eſtates* gave out their *Proclamation*, importing that they had *Reſolved* that *W.* and *M.* ſhould be *K.* and *Q.* of *Scotland*, they enacted their *Declaration* containing the *Claim of Right*, and their *Reſolution* to *Offer* the *Crown* only on the *Terms* of that *Claim*; and not only ſo, but they made this following *Act*, word for word.

Foraſmuch as the Eſtates of this Kingdom, by their former Acts Declared that they would continue undiſſolved until the Government, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom *ſhould be ſettled and ſecured; and they having now proceeded to* Reſolve *that* W. *and* M. K. *and* Q. *of* England, be, *and be* Declared K. *and* Q. *of* Scotland: *And conſidering that the Nation cannot be without Government until the ſaid* K. *and* Q. *of* England *accept the* Offer *of the* Crown, *according to the* Inſtrument *of* Government, *and take the* Oath *required before they enter to the Exerciſe of the Regal Power; Therefore the ſaid Eſtates do hereby* Declare *and* Enact, *that they will con-*

continue in the Government, as formerly; until their Majesties acceptance *of the* Crown, *and their* taking *of the said Oath be made known to them.*

If this Act doth not make it evident that there was no *Material Mistake* of the words of the *Claim of Right*, in Dr. *Strachan's Defence*; But that the *Doctor pleaded* and *Reason'd* upon the *Manifest Principles* of the *Meeting* of *Estates*: If it doth not Demonstrate that the Doctors *Plea* was Solid and Irrefragable; and if it follows not by necessary consequence, that it was ane unaccoutable proceeding of the *Committee* of *Estates* to deprive the *Doctor*, and near to *thirty* more, for not *praying* for *W.* and *M.* as *K.* and *Q.* of *Scotland*, before they *were*, or *could be* K. and Q. of *Scotland*, let the intelligent Reader judge. But if these inferences are notoriously just, then let him judge again, if *G. R.* by offering to invalidate the Dr.'s *Defence*, was not guilty of a palpable indiscretion, in refreshing the memory of such an unaccountable proceeding of the *Meeting* of the *Committee* of Estates, which had been far better buried in perpetual

tual oblivion, and laſtly let him judge, if it argued not more than ane *ordinary Impudence* in *G. R.* to have attempted the *Defence* of that Procedure; And if ſuch ane attempt was not, with a *Fetch* of his *Talent*, peculiar to himſelf, to offer *violence* to *Reaſon* and *Law*, to *Juſtice* and *Equity*, to the *Light* of *Nature*, and the *Common ſenſe* of *Mankind*.

One would think, 'twas *Impudence* enough in all Conſcience, to have made ſo bold with common Humanity, and particularly, with the Univerſal Convictions of ones Native Country, as to a plain Matter of Fact: But ſuch is our Authors ſhare of that *Daring Talent*, that aſſiſted by it, he could even flee in the face of his *Nearer Relations*, and leave them in the *Lurch*, rather than appear to have been worſted in his Argument: Thus, *e. g.*

8. When he was put to it, and could not, otherwiſe, make his eſcape, he never made ſcruple to flee in the face of the preſent Civil Government.

He tells you, indeed, in his *Preface* to 2 *Vind.* §. 6. That one of his Deſigns

ſigns in writing his Book was to Vindicate and Juſtify the Actings of the Civil Government. Believe him, on many occaſions, and he is a moſt dutiful Subject; there cannot be a greater Reverencer of Authority; He tells you, *'Tis a ſawcy boldneſs for private perſons to meddle with the Deſigns of Legiſlators.* (2 Vind. p. 112) And God knows how frequently he expoſes his Adverſaries to the Reſentments of the Civil Government: How zealous is he for *ſtretching necks*, &c.? And yet, for all this, as much as he is obliged to it, as great a veneration as he pretends for it, it muſt not only ſhift for it ſelf, but he muſt run through its ſides, if he has not another *hole* to eſcape by. I ſhall only take notice of two inſtances of his behaviour this way.

The *firſt* is in his 2 *Vind.* (p. 22) His Adverſary had *laught* at the *Presbyterian Addreſs*, and their proteſtation of *Loyalty* to K J. *But I would fain know* (ſays G. R.) *by what Topick either of theſe can be Condemned.* I think, I have hinted, at leaſt, at *Topick* enough about that: Go we on, now,

now, with our Author: *They gave thanks for reſtoring them to their juſt Right:* Neither is this the Matter: *They Profeſſed and practiſed Loyalty towards their* LAWFUL *Soveraign, tho' of a different Religion from them.* Here it is. For don't you hear him plainly affirming, that *K. J.* was a LAWFUL SOVERAIGN? Now what was this leſs than ſtriking at the very root of the preſent Eſtabliſhment? Is it not a direct Contradicting of the *Claim of Right*, which *Declares* that K. J. *had forfeited the Right to the Crown by aſſuming the Regal Power, and Acting as King, without ever taking the Oath required by Law? i.e.* Manifeſtly, for not being a LAWFUL SOVERAIGN. If thus to Contradict its very foundation, ſtrikes not at the root of the preſent Conſtitution, let the world judge. But ſo it was, that our Author could not otherwiſe juſtify the Presbyterian *Addreſs*, &c. Again,

" One of his Adverſaries had Ar-
" gued, that Epiſcopacy was aboliſh-
" ed by the Parliament as being con-
" trary to the *Inclinations of the Peo-*
" *ple*, and therefore, if the People
" ſhould

"ſhould *alter their Inclinations*, it "might be *reſtored* by another Par- "liament.

One would think there was Reaſon here; and it ſeems *G. R.* was ſenſible of it: And therefore finding no other way to avoid its *Dint*, he ſtraight *impugns* the *Power* of *King* and *Parliament*. Take his own words (2 *Vind* p. 90) *But he ſhould have conſidered* (ſays he) *that whatever Motive the Eſtates went upon, it is Declared againſt in the Claim of Right as a Grievance, and therefore, cannot be reſtored without overturning the Foundation of our preſent Civil ſettlement*. He is at this, again, in other places, upon the like occaſions, particularly p. 152. Now,

Not to inſiſt on the *Irreligion* and *Godleſsneſs* of that wild fetch, *viz.* That whatſoever the Motives were which induced men to Eſtabliſh any thing, yet being once Eſtabliſh't it cannot be altered;

Not to inſiſt on the notorious unreaſonableneſs of ſeparating the *Concluſion* of the Eſtates from their *Premiſſes*, and ſaying the *Concluſion* muſt ſtand tho' the *Premiſſes* be rejected,

tho'

tho' they Eſtabliſhed the *Concluſion* on the ſtrength they apprehended was in the *Premiſſes.*

Not to inſiſt on the the Ridiculouſneſs of ſaying, that Epiſcopacy cannot be reſtored without overturning the *Foundation* of the *preſent civil Settlement*: Tho nothing can be *more* Ridiculous than to ſay that the *foundations* of the *preſent civil Settlement* are Subverted, if all *Eccleſiaſtical Grievances* are not Redreſſed.

Not to inſiſt that our Author ſpake very much at Random when he called the *Abolition* of Epiſcopacy, one of the *Fundamentals* of the preſent *Civil* Settlement, conſidering that the preſent *Civil* Settlement was not only *Founded*, but *Finiſhed*, a good time before the *Abolition* of Epiſcopacy: Not to inſiſt on theſe things, I ſay, However Momentous.

Conſider, only, how directly and plainly he *Impugns* the *power* of *King* and *Parliament*, by ſaying, *They cannot Reſtore Epiſcopacy without Subverting the Foundations of the preſent civil Settlement.* What is this leſs than that, if *King* and *Parliament* ſhould

Reſtore Epiſcopacy, they ſhould *break* their *Original contracts*? Than that *both* ſhould *forfeit* their Titles? Than that the *King* ſhould be *no more King*, and the *Parliament* ſhould be *no more Parliament*?

Is it not clear that, with our Author, the *Articles* of our preſent *Claim of Right* are *unalterable*? Unchangeable *Rules* both to *King* and *Parliament*? Now if this is not to *impugn* their *power*, I know not what can be. In effect it is to *Evacuate* the *uſefulneſs* of all *Soveraign power*: For where lyeth its *uſefulneſs*, if it is not able to *rectify* what is *amiſs*, even in the *Conſtitution*? But how can it *rectify* what is *amiſs*, in the *Conſtitution*, if the *Conſtitution*, Right or Wrong, is *unalterable*.

For my part, I cannot ſee but there *is* ſtill that *Supreme power* in the Nation, which *was*, when the preſent *civil* Settlement was made: And as it *might*, while it was a *making* Settlements, have *made* either *another*, or the *ſame*, with twenty little varieties, ſo, it may ſtill *alter* that which is made. I cannot think that it either Diſabled or Exhauſted it ſelf, ſo, as

to

to be no more capable of providing *farther*, or *otherwiſe*, for the *Good* of the *Nation*, when it ſhall find it *neceſſary*.

In ſhort, Is not that ſame *power* ſtill in the Nation which eſtabliſhed the *Claim of Right*? if it is not, what is become of it? How can the Nation ſubſiſt without a *Supra-Legal*, *Supra-Original-Contract*, *Supra claim of Right Power*? It had it once, otherwiſe how could it ever have had *Laws*, or *Claims of Right*, or *Original Contracts*? And muſt it not have it ſtill? Has it loſt it? Or thrown it away? Or has any body taken it from it? But if it is ſtill to the fore; If the Nation is ſtill poſſeſſed of it; where is it *Lodged*, if it is not *Lodged* in *King* and *Parliament*?

Was there more *power* in the *meeting* of *Eſtates* than there is, now, in *King* and *Parliament*? How came the *meeting* of *Eſtates* by it, then? Or whether is it *vaniſhed* now? What is become of it? Eſpecially,

I think, 'Twas pretty bold to ſay that the *ſame power* is not in the *preſent King* and the *preſent Parliament*;

Conſidering that the *preſent Parliament* is that ſame very individual thing with the *meeting* of *Eſtates* by which the *claim of Right* was *Created*. Cannot the ſame, the very ſame *Creators* pretend to a *power* of *Altering* their own *ill-made Creature*, and *make* it *Better*? Had they more *power* under *One name* than under *Another*? Or have they *weakened* or *loſt* their *power* by *communicating* it to their *King*, ſo that there is not ſo much *power*, *Now*, in *him*, and *them* both together, as there was *once* in *them* Singly?

And now let the Reader Judge if *G. R.* for avoiding a difficulty, has not impudently run himſelf into the Guilt of the moſt Atrocious, the moſt Criminal, the moſt *Treaſonable Treaſon*; The Treaſon of *impugning* the *power* of *King* and *Parliament*. This was odd enough, for one in his circumſtances: But yet the next ſtep ſeems to me a little more Surprizing: For.

9. On ſeveral occaſions, he has not ſtood on diſgracing his own dear party, the Presbyterians themſelves, and

and moſt undutifully, as well as impudently, diſcovering their Nakedneſs. I ſhall not inſiſt on all inſtances that might be adduced to this purpoſe, particularly his Loading the *Cameronians* with ſo much Guilt and ſo many hard Names, upon every turn: The *Cameronians*, I ſay, theſe Men of *plain* principles, theſe avowed *Covenanters*, theſe moſt Orthodox and Honeſt Presbyterians in the Nation; even them tho they are the true Champions of the *Cauſe*, and were the principal promoters of the Presbyterian intereſt in the beginning of the late Revolution, he has Laſht to purpoſe, when his Argument requir'd it; as may be ſeen in every *page* almoſt of his *Second vindication*. But this I ſhall not inſiſt on, I ſay, leaving him and them to reckon for it, if they ſhall think it fit.

I ſhall take notice only of one very tender *Secret* of his own *Anomalous Species* of pretended Presbyterians which he has even *needleſsly*, and by conſequence, very *fooliſhly* and *undutifully* expoſed. He has, in his Books, made many more inexcuſable *offi-*

ous Lies, than if he had made *One* for covering such a Mighty *Shame* of theirs: But 'tis hard for one of his prudence to avoid such escapes, when pressed with a pungent Argument. The matter is this.

The Author of the *Case of the afflicted Clergy* had said, that the Presbyterian Ministers, never preached against the disorders of the Rabble: Now hear G. R. (2 vind. p. 97.) *This is False, tho we thought not fit to make that our constant Theme.* Now, that *Rabbling work* was such a *Barbarous* and *Unchristian work*, that one would think, it had not misbecome the Presbyterian Ministers themselves to have made it, at least, *very much* their *Theme* on that occasion. But the *Secret* is not here.

He adds, *And if but few did it; It was because they, who were the Actors in that* Scene, *little Regarded the preaching of the Sober Presbyterians:* A great many things may be observed here: For besides that he owns they were but *few* who *preached* against the *Rabbling*, It might be of use to enquire at our Author, what kind of *Scene* he took

took it to be? Whither was it *Tragical* or *Comical*? or *Both*? *Tragical* to the *Prelatists*, and *Comical* to the *Presbyterians*? It were worth enquiring likewiſe, whom he meant, by *Sober Presbyterian Preachers*? If there are any ſuch in the Nation? How many? Where do they preach, *&c.* But I inſiſt not on theſe things, becauſe the *Secret* is not amongſt them. Yet

The next thing he produces is worth the Noticing. *And they* (The Sober Presbyterian Preachers, if they had preached againſt Rabbling the Clergy) *Should have loſt their SWEET WORDS.* Now, here is ſubject afforded for ſeveral weighty Controverſies: For it may be made a Queſtion, Whither it be the duty of *Sober Presbyterian Preachers* to *preach* Righteouſneſs *to a Rebellious people, whither they will Hear, or whither they will Forbear*? It may be made another, Whither our Author, here, gave up all the *Rabblers* to a *reprobate Senſe*? 'Tis poſſible he meant ſo. For the *Sweeteſt words*, the *Sobereſt* Presbyterians can utter in their *preachings* are

not too precious to be ſpent on ſuch as are in a ſtate of *Reclaimableneſs*. But that which I take to be the moſt proper Queſtion, the Queſtion that ariſeth moſt naturally from the *Text*, is, Whither Presbyterian *Words* are not *Sweeteer* than that they ſhould be *Spent* on ſuch *needleſs* purpoſes, as the Recommendation and Aſſertion of *Righteouſneſs*, and the Condemnation of *Iniquity*? Whither it had not been ane unaccountable *prodigality* in them to have *loſt their Sweet words*, about ſuch *Trifling* concerns as theſe? But neither is the *Secret* here: But it follows now.

Theſe practices of the Rabble were publickly ſpoken againſt by Miniſters, both before they were Acted, for preventing them, and after, for Reproving them, and preventing the like. Here it is, I ſay: Has he not, here, diſcovered ane important *Secret* of his party? Has he not diſcovered that the *Rabbling* of the Clergy was not the product of Chance or Accident, but a Deliberated, a Conſulted, ane Adviſed politick? Has he not diſcovered that even the ſober Presbyterian Miniſters

Miniſters were privy to the plot of it? Has he not told, that *they ſpake againſt it, before it was Acted, for preventing it*? And doth it not follow clearly that they *knew* of it *before* it was *Acted:* for if they had *known* nothing of it, how could they have *ſpoken* againſt it for *preventing* it?

But tho they knew of it, that it was to be done, yet, it ſeems, They *Conſented* not that it ſhould be *Done*; For *they ſpake againſt it for preventing of it.* But I am afraid our Author, here, turn'd *weary* of his *Sincerity*: For who ſpake publickly againſt theſe *practices* of the *Rabble*? Or *where*, or *when* were they ſpoken againſt, *before they were acted*? I dare challenge him to name one of his moſt ſober Preſbyterian Miniſters who preached *publickly* againſt them *for preventing of them.* When I am put to it I can name more than One or Two, who pretend to be of the *Firſt Rank* of the *Sober Preſbyterian* Miniſters, who knew of them indeed, and Conſulted *privately* about them; and ſaid, *It was the ſureſt way, to have the Curates once diſpoſſeſſed:* Becauſe, *Once diſpoſſeſſed*, they

they might find difficulties in being Repoſſeſſed: But I never heard of ſo much as *One* who preached againſt them before they were *Done.* I am very confident *G. R.* cannot name *One.* Indeed,

Seeing, as our Author Grants, they knew of the Rabbling *before it was Acted*; If they had been ſo ſerious againſt it, as they ſhould have been, and as our Author would have us believe they were; how natural and eaſy, as well as Chriſtian and Dutiful had it been, to have given Advertiſements to the poor men who were to ſuffer it, about it? Was ever any ſuch thing done? But it ſeems Presbyterian *words* were *Sweeter* to Presbyterian palates than *Common humanity* or *Chriſtian Charity*: They were too *Sweet* to be *Loſt* in ſuch *Advertiſements.* By this time, the Reader, I think, has got a proof of *G. R.*'s tenderneſs, even, to his own *Herd*, when the Argument of ane Adverſary pinched him. But this is not the Higheſt ſtept. For

10. If ane Argument ſtraitens him, He never ſtands to baffle, and expoſe, and

and contradict and make a Lier of his *own* Learned, Senſible, Civil Modeſt *Self*. And, here, again, One might write a large volume, but I ſhall confine my ſelf to a Competent number of inſtances.

First, then, you never ſaw a *Prelatiſt* and a *Presbyterian* Contradicting one Another, in more plain, oppoſite and peremptory Terms, than he has done himſelf on ſeveral occaſions. Take this Taſte

In his *Anſwer* to D. *Stillingfleet*'s *Irenicum* (p. 64) He is at great pains to prove that where *Epiſcopacy* is, *Presbyters* have no *power*: Particularly, he has theſe two profound Arguments for it. 1. *If Biſhops be ſet over Presbyters they muſt either be only* Præſides, *which is not contrary to Parity; or they muſt have Authority above, and over their Brethren: And if ſo, They may rule without their Brethren; Seeing they may command them*, &c. 2. *If Presbyters under a Biſhop have ruling power, either they may Determine without, or againſt his conſent, or not: if ſo, The* Biſhop *is but* a Preſident: *If not, The* Presbyters *are but* Cyphers.

Now

Now who would think that one of *G. R.*'s Courage would ever have parted with ſuch ane important propoſition, eſpecially, having ſuch impregnable Arguments for it? Yet.

Conſider if he has not done it, moſt notoriouſly in his Anſwer to the Doctors *Unreaſonableneſs of the ſeparation*, &c. *pag.* 182. where he has theſe expreſs words. *He* (The Doctor) *Undertaketh to prove that the Engliſh Epiſcopacy doth not take away the whole power of Presbyters* —— *we do not alledge that it taketh away the whole power of Presbyters, for that were to reduce them into the ſame order with the reſt of the people; but wee ſay it uſurpeth ane undue power over them*, &c. Again,

In his *Firſt Vind.* of *his* Church of *Scotland*, His *cauſe* led him, in *Anſw.* to *Queſt.* 10. to ſay *That K. J's. Toleration was againſt Law:* He was preſſed with this Argument about the *Inclinations of the people*, "That "not fifty Gentlemen, in all *Scotland* "(out of the *Weſt* did, upon the In-"dulgence, forſake the *Churches* to "frequent *Meeting houſes*: And his An-

ſwer

ſwer was. *They clave to the former way* (i. e. Continued in the Epiſcopal Communion) *Becauſe the Law ſtood for it.* Is it not plain, here, that the *Meeting houſes* were *contrary* to *Law*? Hear him, now, in his 2 *vind.* (p. 43, 44. *paſſim*) when he was preſt with the Scandal of his party's Complying with the diſpenſing *power*, and erecting Meeting houſes *contrary to Law.* He affirmed boldly, that the *Diſpenſing power* was *according to Law*, And *K. J. was enabled by Law, to Grant his Toleration.* Again,

In his 2. *vind.* in *Anſw.* to *Letter* 1. § 9. p. 12. when he had the Meeting of Eſtates to Apologize for, for ſuffering and allowing perſons to ſit as Members, who *were not Qualified according to Law.* He Granted ſome ſuch Members ſate there, but *they had been moſt unjuſtly Forfeited in the Late Reign.* Even *Parliamentary* Forfeitures, you ſee were moſt *Unjuſt* Forfeitures, and there was no Reaſon that they ſhould *exclude* theſe Gentlemen from their *Juſt* and *Antient* Rights and Priviledges. But when he was preſſed by the Author of the

Caſe

Case of the Afflicted Clergy, &c. with this "That many Ministers Benefices "were unjustly and illegally kept from "them; he got his *Cloak on the other Shoulder*, as we say, *if the Authority of the Nation in the convention or Parliament have Determined otherwise, I know not where their Legal Right can be founded.* (p. 96. §6.) It was not so much as *Knowable*, to our Author, in that Case, that there might be *most Unjust Parliamentary* Determinations.

It were ane endless work to adduce all such little *Squabbles* as these, between himself and himself: I shall Insist, therefore, only on *two* more, which are a little more Considerable. And

First, Our Author was not at more pains about any one thing in his Answ. to D. *Still*'s *Irenicum*, than the *Inseparableness* that is between the *Teaching* and *Ruling power* of *Presbyters*: He spent no less than 8 or 9 pages about it, Stretching his Invention to find Arguments for it: Whoso pleases to turn to *page* 79 may see the whole Deduction

He

He is as earneſt about it in his *True Repreſentation, &c.* Theſe are his words (*prop.* 13) *There being no Diſparity of power amongſt Miniſters by Chriſts Grant of power to them; No man can make this Diſparity by ſetting one over the reſt: Neither can they Devolve their power on one of themſelves: For Chriſt hath given no ſuch warrant to men to diſpoſe of his Ordinances, as they ſee fit: And power being Delegated to them by him, They cannot ſo commit it to Another to Exerciſe it for them, as to deprive themſelves of it. Alſo, it being not a* Licence *only, But a* Truſt, *of which they muſt give ane account, They muſt perform the work by themſelves as they will be Anſwerable.* Now, it is not poſſible for one to contradict himſelf more than he hath done both *Indirectly* and *Directly* in this matter.

He hath Contradicted himſelf *Indirectly*, and by unavoidable Conſequence, in ſo far as he hath owned, or owns himſelf a *Presbyterian*, and for the *Lawfulneſs* (not to ſay the *Neceſſity*) of *Scottiſh* Presbyterian General Aſſemblies of the *preſent* Conſtitution.

ſtitution. For, are all the *Ruling Officers* of Chriſts appointment, Both *Preaching* and *Governing Elders* allowed to be *Members* of General Aſſemblies? Do they all diſcharge their *Truſt*, and *perform their work by themſelves, there, as they will be Anſwerable to him, from whom they got their Truſt*? Doth not every *Presbytery* (conſiſting of 12, 16, or 20 *preaching*, and as many *Ruling Elders*) Send only ſome *Three* or *Four Preaching* Elders, and only *One Ruling* Elder to the *General Aſſembly*? Do they not *Delegate* theſe, and *Devolve* their *power* upon them, and *Conſtitute* them their *Repreſentatives* for the Aſſembly? Let their *Commiſſions* be Inſpected, and let it be Tryed, if it is not ſo: Now, How is ſuch a *Delegation* Conſiſtent with our Authors poſition about the *Indevolvibility* or *Indelegability* of ſuch a *power*? It were eaſy to purſue this farther in its Conſequents. Now what an ill thing is it, for a man, thus, to ſap and ſubvert all his own Foundations? To Contradict the fundamental *Maximes* of his own *Scheme* by ſuch unadviſed propoſitions?

tions? But this is not the worſt of it.

He hath *contradicted* himſelf moſt *directly* in that ſame Individual *True Repreſentation*, &c. in *Anſw.* to the 10th *Objection*; and in his 2 *Vind.* p. 154, 155. For in both places he endeavors to juſtify the Taking of all *Ruling power* out of the hands of the *Epiſcopal Miniſters*, and the *putting* it, only, in the hands of *the Known ſound Presbyterians*; Reſerving to the Epiſcopal Miniſters, their *Teaching power*, only. 'Tis true, 'Tis evident that he found himſelf ſadly puzled in the Matter, and was forced to bring in his Good Friend *Neceſſity*, and the Old *Covenant-Diſtinction* of *Status Eccleſiæ turbatus* and *paratus*, to *Lend* him a *Lift*. I have conſidered his Friend *Neceſſity*, ſufficiently in my Book, and thither I refer the Reader for ſatisfaction about it. But what to do with his *Præſens Eccleſiæ Status*, I do not ſo well know: Only this I dare ſay, granting it to be ſo *nimble* as to break *Scot-free* through *Divine Inſtitutions*; Yet it can, neither by *itſelf*, nor with *Neceſſity* to help it, *reconcile* notorious *Contradictions*.

The

The other Inſtance I ſhall adduce is in a very important matter; no leſs than the *Presbyterian Separation* from the *Epiſcopal Church* of *Scotland*. He was put to it, to defend it in both his *Vindications* of *his* Church of *Scotland*. *Firſt Vind.* in *Anſw.* to *Queſt.* 4. 2 *Vind.* in *Anſwer* to *Letter* 2. § 3. All the Reaſons he has for that Separation may be reduced to theſe Three, 1. *Epiſcopacy.* 2. The Epiſcopal Miniſters were *Uſurpers* or *Intruders*: For 3. They had not the *Call* of the *People*; and ſo the People were not bound to own them as their Miniſters. Theſe are his Grounds, I ſay, on which he juſtifies their Separation from us. Now, hear him in his *Rational Defence*, &c. publiſhed, as I have told, ſince the beginning of the Late Revolution, by Conſequence, after the *Scottiſh Schiſm* was in its full Maturity: Hear him there, I ſay, and you never heard Man reject any thing, more fairly, more fully, or more directly, than he hath done theſe his own Grounds. Let us try them one by one.

1. For *Epiſcopacy*, turn firſt to *pag.* 95.

95. And you ſhall find theſe very words, *Whatever fault we find with the Miniſters of the Church and the Hierarchy, we do not ſeparate becauſe of theſe; we would joyn with you* (the Engliſh Church) *for all theſe Grievances, if you would but ſuffer us to do it, without ſinning againſt God in that which is our perſonal Action.*

Turn next to *pag.* 150. There he offers at enumerating the Cauſes that cannot juſtify a Separation, and he talks particularly about Epiſcopacy, thus; *We are grieved with Prelatical Government, and taking away that Parity of Power that Chriſt hath given to the Ordinary Miniſters of his Church. This we cannot approve, and therefore Miniſters ought rather to ſuffer Deprivation of the publick Exerciſe of their Miniſtry than own it. And People alſo ought not to own that, their Lordly Authority that they Exerciſe; Yet, becauſe this is not Required to be acknowledged as a Lawful Power in the Church, by the People, I ſee not that we ſhould withdraw from the Publick Aſſemblies, meerly becauſe there are Dioceſan Biſhops ſet over the Church; Except our owning*

them by ſubmitting to their Juriſdiction is Required as one of the Terms of Communion with the Church. Who ſo pleaſes may find more to the ſame purpoſe, *pag.* 157, 275, &c. Nay,

So condeſcending is he in that Book (*p.* 159.) that he can allow Biſhops their Temporal Honours and Dignities. *We meddle not with their Titles and Revennes* (ſays he) *Theſe are the Magiſtrates Gifts, and do not croſs Chriſt's inſtitution, whatever inconvenience may be in them.*

2. As to the *Plea* of the *Uſurpation* or *Intruſion* of the Prelatiſts, D. *Still.* had alledged that the Diſſenters pleaded, "That moſt of the preſent "Miniſters of the Church of *England* "were *Uſurpers*, and that from ſuch "the People might lawfully ſeparate. *We deny both parts of the Aſſertion,* (ſays G. R. p. 115, 116.) *Whatever* Uſurpation *ſome of them may be guilty of, we know moſt of them have the* (Tacite, *at leaſt*) *conſent of the People,* a poſt facto; *and therefore however they may be guilty of* Intruſion *in their Entry, in their continuing in their places they are no* Uſurpers. *Neither do we*

own

own it to be lawful to ſeparate *from Every Miniſter that is an* Uſurper, *Meerly on the Account of his Uſurpation.* And he diſcourſes the point copiouſly; as the curious Reader may find, *ibid.* Neither is he leſs poſitive about the

3. Thing, which, in his *Scottiſh* Management of the *Plea*, he inſiſts on as the Great Reaſon of the former, *viz. The Popular Call.* "For D *Still.* "had adduced D. *Owen* as aſſerting, "that the depriving of the People of "the Right to chooſe their own Pa- "ſtors was a juſt Ground of Separa- "tion. And G. R. anſwers, *If Doctor* Owen *hath done ſo, Let it paſs for a part of the Independent Judgment which was a miſtake of that Eminent Servant of God; Others are not of that Mind.* And a little after; *The People by the Laws of the Goſpel have the Right of Election of their own Paſtors; But it doth not follow that they ought not to bear with being hindered the Exerciſe of this Right for the ſake of Peace and Unity.* And p. 151. *Depriving the People of their Right of chuſing their own Church Officers, is alſo Matter of Complaint, but we muſt bear it rather*

than ſeparate for that, from a Church. And pag. 197. when he came to aſſert that *Right* of the *People*, He told he did *Not make the Depriving of the People of that Power, a Cauſe of Separation.* Nay, Not once, but very frequently, he lays the whole ſtreſs of the *Engliſh* Separation, Upon the ſinful terms of Communion (as he calls them) impoſed by the Church of *England.* Let the Church purge her Offices of humane Inventions, Let her lay aſide the the *Liturgy*, the *Croſs* in *Baptiſm*, *Kneeling* at the Receiving of the *Euchariſt*, and *Holy days*, &c. and he, and all his Party ſhall joyn with her chearfully, *Vide* p. 24, 81, 106, 107, 109, 120, 133, 144, 151, *&c.* Now Let any Man, even of his own Sect, reconcile theſe things: Let him ſhew why *Epiſcopacy*, *Uſurpation*, and *Depriving the People* of their *Right* to *chooſe* their own *Paſtors*, ſhould be ſo *every way* ſufficient Grounds for *Separating* from the Church of *Scotland*, and ſo *no ways* ſufficient grounds for *ſeparating* from the Church of *England.* What could move the Man to venture upon ſuch lumpiſh, bulkiſh Contradictions? For my part, I cannot gueſs

gueſs at another Motive than that which I have frequently mentioned, *viz.* The preſent Argument.

In *England* he had ſome other things to bear the Burden, but no other thing in *Scotland*; and it was neceſſary for his *Vindicatorſhip* to *juſtify* the *Separation*: And therefore what could not do it in *England*, behoved to do it in *Scotland*.

But perhaps he may endeavour to extricate himſelf by running for ſhelter to the Old *Scottiſh Plea* of the *Covenant*. For, Is not *Prelacy abjur'd in* Scotland? Is not the *Oath* of God upon *Presbyterians*, nay on all the *Nation*, not to own *Prelacy*? Are not all the *Prelatiſts perjur'd*, &c.? And now may not the Presbyterians *ſeparate* lawfully?

He ſeems indeed to betake himſelf to this *Plea*, in his *Anſwer* to the *Hiſtorical Relation of the General Aſſembly*, § 20. p. 189. *The ſetting up of Epiſcopacy* (ſays he) *was more ſinful in this Nation* (Scotland) *than it could be elſewhere, becauſe of the Oath of God that the Nation is under, againſt it; Not in latter times only, but in the times*

of King James *the* Sixth, *who cauſed the whole Nation ſwear the Shorter Confeſſion of Faith, called the National Covenant, where it is abjured.* Now

Not to inſiſt on ſhewing that, upon the ſuppoſition, all this were true, it militates only againſt *Epiſcopacy*; It could conclude it only, but neither the *Uſurpation*, nor the *Depriving* the *People* of their *Right*, &c. to be a ſufficient Ground for the *Separation*. Nor yet to inſiſt on the notorious falſhood of the ſuppoſition, *viz.* That Epiſcopacy was abjured in King *James* the *Sixths* time. Not to inſiſt on theſe things, I ſay,

If he *himſelf* is ſtrong enough for *himſelf*, *himſelf* will not ſuffer *himſelf* to make the *Abjuration* of Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, a ſufficient Ground for *ſeparating* from the *Epiſcopal* Church of *Scotland*. For in the 40th page of his *Rational Defence*, &c. Attempting to ſhew a Difference between complying with the Church of *England* at the *Reformation*, and complying with her *Now*, he opens thus: *I might here alledge the Obligation of the National Covenant that we are under, as they were*

not

not to whom the Doctor would make our Caſe parallel (i. e. thoſe who lived at the Reformation) *Tho I never thought that that Bond made any Sins or Duties that were not ſuch Antecedently.* Now

(Not to inſiſt on the *Pleaſantneſs* of pretending that he might inſiſt on a *Topick*, in which he inſtantly acknowledges there is no *Force*;) If *Oaths* and *Covenants make no Duties nor Sins, which were not ſuch Antecedently*, I would fain underſtand, how the *National Covenant*, or whatever *Covenant* has been in *Scotland*, could make Epiſcopacy a *ſufficient Ground* for *Separating* from the Church of *Scotland*; if it was not a *ſufficient Ground* for *ſuch Separation Antecedently* to theſe *Covenants*? Thus he himſelf hath cut off himſelf from all hopes of eſcaping by the *Covenant.* Indeed there is no poſſibility of Eſcape left him: It is not in the power of Nature to reſcue one who is ſo plunged over Head and Ears in ſuch a Sink of Contradictions.

What hath been ſaid might be ſufficient, in all Conſcience, for repreſenting his own *Unnatural* Unmerciful-

neſs

ſulneſs towards himſelf: For what can be more *Unmercifully* done to one, than to demonſtrate him to all the world to be a *Manifeſt Lier*? And who can be a *more* manifeſt *Lier* than he, who, upon every turn, vomits Contradictions? Yet this is not all, perhaps it is not the worſt.

There is ſuch an *Intimate Relation* between *himſelf* and his *Books* written by *himſelf*, That, I think, 'tis reaſonable to ſay, that whoſoever treats his *Books* with any Degrees of *Impudence*, is every whit as *Impudent* towards *himſelf*. Now, it is not poſſible that Ranker, more Mercyleſs, or more Impudent injury can be done to any thing, than himſelf hath done to his *Second Vindication* of *his* Church of *Scotland*. At leaſt, to near three parts of four of it: To it, ſo far as it Anſwers *The Four Letters*, *The Caſe of the Afflicted Clergy*, and the *Late Letter*. For he hath engraven on it ſuch indelible Characters of Diſingenuity, Partiality, Injuſtice, Unfair Dealing, Effrontery, Ridiculouſneſs, *&c.* as perhaps never Book was injur'd or beſpattered with, ſince writing of

Books

Books was in faſhion. The Reader may think this is a very ſtrange Charge: But I can make it good, to a Demonſtration, by a very plain and obvious Deduction. Thus,

Some of the Epiſcopal Clergy, thought themſelves obliged for their own Vindication, to give ſome ſhort Repreſentations of their Circumſtances, and the Unkindly Treatment they had met with from the Presbyterian Party, *An.* 1688, 1689, *&c.* The whole Nation knows, they were ſo far from feigning inſtances, or aggravating the circumſtances of their Sufferings, that they told not the twentieth part of what they ſuffered; nor repreſented what they told in all its proper Blackneſſes: However, ſo much was told, as was enough to repreſent the Presbyterian Temper in no very Lovely Colours. The Party were ſenſible of this; And therefore, it was neceſſary to try if there was a poſſibiltty of Collecting and Connecting ſome Rags to cover their Shame and Nakedneſs. The Expedient they agreed to was, that the *Accounts* given by the Epiſcopal Clergy ſhould be

An-

Anſwered and Refuted: But then the Difficulty was to find ane Author, who had *Talents* proper for ſuch a *Task*.

It was committed, firſt to Mr. *Alexander Pitcairn*: But after he had thought ſome time about it, it ſeems, It ſtood with his Stomach: He had not ſo far abandoned all Principles of Truth, and Honeſty, and Ingenuity, as was neceſſary for ſuch ane Undertaking; he reſign'd the imployment, therefore into the hands of another *General Meeting* of the Party, and told them, He would have nothing to do with it.

This, no doubt, was a Diſcouragement to all others of any *Wit* or *Probity*, to undertake it: For if it was to be *done*, to any good purpoſe at all, *Pitcairn* was as fit for *doing* of it as any of the *Sect*: And if he gave it over, after ſo much Deliberation about it, it was to be preſumed, there was *Froſt* in it; it was not ſafe to meddle with it. Thus it fell to the ſhare of *G. R.* as he tells himſelf both in his *Preface*, and in the *Beginning* of his Book.

Such

Such ane *Odd* Undertaking did, indeed, require a ſuitable Undertaker; and now it had one as *oddly* qualified for it as the world has heard of. For if we may believe himſelf in his *Preface* to his *Anim.* on D. *Stillingfleet's Irenicum* (for who but himſelf would have been at pains to write Prefaces to his Books?) *He died a worthy and much lamented Author, Anno* 1662. And, ſo far as I can learn, he continued thus in the ſtate of the dead, till towards the end of the year 1688. *i. e.* about 26 years. Then, indeed he return'd to Life. Now, it is not to be imagin'd, his Soul, all this while, was either in the Regions of Eternal Rewards, or Eternal Puniſhments; for, then, how ſhould it have returned? Doubtleſs, therefore, it was in ſome *Purgatory*: But what *Purgatory* is not eaſy to determine. I am confident, it was not the Ordinary *Purgatory*, in which People are purg'd from the Dregs of Corruption they carry out of this world with them; for he came alive again more *corrupted* and *vicious* than ever. Poſſibly, he has been in ſome *New Purgatory*,

gatory, which the *Pope* built lately for keeping a Seminary of ſuch as he lets out upon Occaſion, for *Plagues* to the *Proteſtant* Churches. Whatever *Purgatory* it was, Our Author came out of it, *purged* pretty clean of all principles of *Senſe*, or *Shame*, or *Honeſty*. And now, who fitter than he to be the *Vindicator* of the *Kirk* of *Scotland*? Before his *Death* he wrote only ſuch *Books as were little in their own Eyes* (Pref. to *Anim.* on *Irenicum*) but he ventured on writing ſuch Books as his *Second Vindication*, after his *Reſurrection*.

I have given this Account of our Author, and the Occaſion of his writing the Book, for fixing the Readers attention, that he may conſider it with the greater Application.

Now, in this Book, (His *Second Vindication*, I mean) he rejected, by the Bulk, all the Matters of Fact, which were contain'd in the *Four Letters*, becauſe they were not *Atteſted*; as if, forſooth, the Writers of the Letters had had opportunity to have had all the particular Caſes, Tried in formal Courts, before Indifferent Judges, and

and with all the Uſual Solemnities of Proceſs: As if it had been their Intention, by their Letters, to have made formal Purſuits for the Injuries had been done the Clergy. As if the World could not have eaſily Diſcerned, That all their purpoſe in writing theſe Letters, was not to ſue Legally for Redreſs, but to repreſent to their Friends, Matter of Fact, in the common way of Hiſtory. Well!

To mend this, however, *The Caſe of the afflicted Clergy* gave him *Atteſtations*, enough, in all Conſcience: But did that ſatisfy him? No more than if he had got none at all, for they were not worth a Button, they were not probative, they were but partial; he had reaſon to reject every one of them. Thus,

When the Author of the Caſe, *&c.* cited D. *Burnet*, G. *R.* reply'd in theſe words; *He farther proveth our Perſecution by citing ſome paſſages out of* Doctor Burnet, *whom, being a party, we are not to admit as a Witneſs againſt us.* (85) What? No not D. *Burnet*? No not the *Son* of ſuch a *Mother*? No not the *Nephew* of ſuch ane *Uncle*? No not

not the *Brother* of ſuch a *Brother*? No not the *Couſin German* of ſuch a *Couſin German*? No not the *Man* who has all alongſt adviſed the *Scottiſh* Prelatiſts (particularly Mr. *Malcome*, one of the Miniſters of *Edenburgh*) to return to their Native Country, and ſubmit to the Eccleſiaſtical Government *Now* Eſtabliſhed; Do you reject even him as a *party*? But to proceed.

If the perſon who was barbarouſly uſed by the Rabble, gave an Account of his own Uſage, (and who could do it better?) and ſubſcribed his name to it; This was ſuch ane *Atteſtation*, as *G. R.* thought fit to reject with a *Fie upon it.* It was *Teſte Meipſo*, (p. 88.) and ſo, not worth ane half-penny: As if it had been poſſible for a Miniſter, when the Rabble ſurprized him, and came upon him unawares, ſtill to have had witneſſes at hand for *Atteſting* all their Rudeneſſes; as if it had not been enough for all the deſign of ſuch *Accounts*, that a Man of known Probity and Reputation, ſubſcribed his own Narration of a Matter of Fact which ſo nearly concerned himſelf,

himſelf, and thereby declared his Readineſs to make the Matter appear, as far as he was capable.

If the Rabbled Miniſter adduced Witneſſes (as was done in *the Caſe*,&c. in ſeveral Inſtances) And they ſubſcribed the Account, was he then ſatisfied? Never ane Ace more than before. *All of his Witneſſes are the ſworn Enemies of Presbyterians, and in a Combination to defame them*, (p. 88.) And again (p. 100.) *His firſt Collection is of Accounts that he hath had from his Complices, a company of Men avowed and malicious Enemies of all Presbyterians —— and all this atteſted by themſelves.* Nay,

Tho they were not Epiſcopal *Miniſters*, but *Laicks* who *atteſted*, if it was done in favour of Epiſcopal Miniſters, that was enough to prove them Friends to Epiſcopacy, and ſo they were no more *Boni & Legales Homines*, as he calls his *Unexceptionable Witneſſes*, (p. 111.) Thus,

The Account which was ſent to *London* immediately after the Second Tumult at *Glaſgow*, which happened on the 17th of *Feb. Anno* 168⅔. was

ſubſcribed by *James Gibſon*, then One of the Magiſtrates of the City; *John Gillhagie*, who had been a Magiſtrate the year before; and *Patrick Bell*, Son to Sir *John Bell*, a diſcreet young Gentleman, and Merchant in the City.

Theſe three ſubſcribed it, that it might *make Faith*; it was directed to *Doctor Fall*, Principal of the Colledge of *Glaſgow*, that he might ſhew it to the then P. of *O.* and crave, that now, that he had taken upon him the Government of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, he would interpoſe his Authority for diſcharging ſuch Tumults for the future, *&c.* *Doctor Fall* actually addreſſed to his Highneſs, and ſhewed the Account. All this was done before the *Scottiſh* Eſtates met in *March*. Now conſider *G. R.*'s Diſcuſſion of this Account. (p. 94.)

John (he ſhould have called him *James*) *Gibſon was a Party, and made a Bailie by the Archbiſhop, and all know the Prelates Inclinations towards the preſent Civil Government.* Have ye not here a goodly *Specimen* of both our Authors *Law* and his *Logick*.

John

John Gillhagie is lookt on by all as a Fooliſh and Raſh Man, who little conſidereth what he doth. Now what was his Teſtimony worth after our Author had given him ſuch a Character?

Patrick Bell *and his Brother were ſoon after ſeized for Treaſonable Practices, were long in Priſon, and are now under Bail.* And is not *G. R.* now a potent Author? How eaſily and readily he can reject Teſtimonies! And theſe three once thus rejected, There was never ſuch a thing as that Presbyterian Tumult at *Glaſgow*: No not tho there are Hundreds in *Glaſgow* who can *atteſt*, that every ſyllable of the Account was true. Again,

Pag. 109. in Mr. *Gellies* Caſe, How eaſily could he reject all the Teſtimonies that were adduced? Why? *They that teſtify for him are of his own party:* And then let them teſtify that they ſaw a *Noſe* on *G. R.*'s own *Face*, and for any thing I know, he ſhould cut off his own *Noſe* to have them *Liers.* And now,

Let the World judge of this way of diſproving Hiſtorical Relations and Atteſtations of Matters of Fact: Is it

not plain that according to this Standard, it is impoſſible to *Atteſt* any thing? For as I take it, the whole Nation is ſo divided between Prelatiſts and Presbyterians, or thoſe who favour One of the ſides, that you ſhall not find many Neutrals. Now, who is obliged to take the Teſtimonies of Presbyterians, in Matters of Fact, more than the Teſtimonies of Prelatiſts? Have they any Divine, Natural or Municipal Law for the Validity of their Teſtimonies beyond other Men? If they have not, as I ſhall ſtill be apt to believe till *G R.* produces the Law, then I would fain know how *G. R.* by his own Standard can allow, That Presbyterian Witneſſes ſhould appear before any Court Eccleſiaſtical or Civil againſt Epiſcopal Miniſters. Nay, may not the Presbyterians themſelves reject even *G. R.*'s Teſtimony? Nay I ſay they ought to do it: Why? He ſtands nearly related to Epiſcopacy. How? Let it be enquired into and I'le hold him two to one, if he was Baptized at all, he was Baptized either by a Biſhop, or by a Presbyter that

that ſubmitted to Biſhops. But if ſo, then good morrow to his Teſtimony: For thus the Argument runs, G. R. was Baptized by a Prelate or a Prelatiſt, *and all know the Prelates inclinations*, &c.

Why this Reaſoning ſhould not hold in G. R.'s Caſe, as well as in *James Gibſon's* Caſe, I deſire to learn of G. R. when he is at Leiſure. But this is not all.

As he rejected all the *Atteſtations* in that Book, without any ſhew of Reaſon, ſo he did ſome in Deſpight of the Common Senſe of Mankind. For ſetting this in its due Light, it is to be Remembred, that, in that Book, there are Accounts of the Inſolencies committed by the Rabble upon ſuch and ſuch Miniſters in the Presbyteries of *Glaſgow*, *Hamilton*, *Irwing*, *Air*, *Paiſley*, *Dumbarton*, *&c.* Now theſe Accounts were occaſioned thus,

When the Rabble was in its fury, and making Havock of all the Clergy in the *Weſtern* Dioceſs of *Glaſgow*, ſome of them met at *Glaſgow* upon the 22 of *January*, 168$\frac{9}{0}$. to conſider what might be proper for them to do for

their own Preſervation, and Protection againſt the Rage of their Perſecutors: And the beſt Expedient they could then fall upon, was to ſend Doctor *Scot* Dean of *Glaſgow* to *London*, to repreſent their Condition to his Highneſs the *P.* of *O.* who had then aſſumed the Government of the Nation; and crave protection according to Law. And that the *Doctor* might be the better inſtructed, it was reſolved, that particular *Accounts* of the *Violences* had been done to the Clergy within the abovenamed Preſbyteries ſhould be digeſted by ſuch Miniſters as lived within theſe Preſbyteries, reſpectively: This was done. The *Account* of the *Violences* done to thoſe who lived within the Presbytery of *Air*, was digeſted and ſigned by Mr. *Alexander Gregory*, Mr. *William Irwine*, and Mr. *Francis Fordyce*; that for *Paiſley*, by Mr. *Fullerton*, and Mr. *Taylour*, Miniſters at *Paiſley*; that for *Glaſgow*, by Mr. *George*, and Mr. *Sage*, *&c.* And that the Truth of theſe *Accounts* might be the more unqueſtionable, the Subſcribers (in ſome of them, at leaſt) undertook to make

all

all the particulars appear to be true, upon the greateſt peril, if they ſhould get a fair Hearing. What greater Evidence of Truth and Ingenuity could have been expected or required of People in ſuch Circumſtances? Yet,

Even theſe accounts *G. R.* rejected, as readily and confidently as he did any other; he rejected them I ſay, *indiſcriminately*, and without taking notice of any difference between them, and ſuch as were not written upon any ſuch Occaſion, ſuch as were only vouched *Teſte Meipſo*. Was this like either the *Senſe* or the *Diſcretion* that were proper for the *Vindicator* of a Church? I do not incline, ſo much as in the leaſt, to inſinuate, that any of the Accounts contained in *The Caſe of the afflicted Clergy*, were falſe; I am ſatisfied they were all very true: All I intend, is to repreſent *G. R.*'s impudent Raſhneſs in rejecting all *Accounts* with the ſame *facility*: And certainly, whoſoever conſiders this ſeriouſly, cannot but reckon of his Book as written with as little *Wit* or *Diſcretion*, as *Truth* or *Ingenuity*.

And all this will appear more evident ſtill, if it be conſidered, that,

All this did not content him; but he was ſuch a Fool, as to ſtumble upon the ſame Methods, himſelf condemn'd moſt, in his Adverſaries, when he had any Matter of *Fact* to *Atteſt*.

He was very careful, as he tells frequently, to have his particular informations from all Corners, concerning all the Inſtances of Rabbling which were repreſented in the *Prelatick* Pamphlets? But from whom had he theſe Informations, moſtly? From the very *Rabblers* themſelves. It were both tedious and unprofitable to trace him through all inſtances: One may be ſufficient for ane example. And I ſhall chooſe the very firſt that is to be found in his Book, *viz.* That of Maſter *Gabriel Ruſſel*, Miniſter at *Govean*.

The Author of the Second Letter had given a brief and a juſt Account of the Treatment, that poor Gentleman had met with. And *G. R.* convels it thus, *To this, I oppoſe*, ſays he, *The Truth of the Story, as it is atteſted by the Subſcriptions of Nine Perſons who*

who were preſent, i. e. Nine of the Rabblers; for ſo Mr. *Ruſſel* himſelf aſſured me, repeating over theſe very names which *G. R.* has in his Book. And is not this a pleaſant *Atteſtation*? Is it not *pleaſant*, I ſay, to rely upon the Teſtimony of ſuch barbarous Villains, and take their own *word* for their own *Vindication*? Yet there's one thing, a great deal more *pleaſant* yet, in the Story.

The Author of the *Second Letter* had affirmed, that Mr. *Ruſſel* was beaten by the Rabble; *But they* (the nine whom he adduces) *utterly deny, That any of them did beat him.* And 'tis true indeed, none of theſe nine did beat him; but 'tis as true that he was beaten: And one *James Colquhoun* was the perſon who did it; and therefore his Name was concealed, and not ſet down with the other nine. And now I refer it to the Reader, if it is not probable, that he has got a parcel of ſweet Hiſtory from *G. R.* in his *Second Vindication*. But I go on.

As he thus adduced the Rabble witneſſing for themſelves; ſo when he was put to it, he never ſtood on

adducing

adducing the Teſtimonies of ſingle Presbyterian Miniſters, witneſſing for the Honeſty and Integrity of the Rabblers, or in oppoſition to the Prelatical Relations. Thus,

In *White*'s Caſe (*p.* 32.) he adduces five Men, teſtifying that the Accounts of *White*'s Sufferings were falſe, *&c.* And for the Honeſty of theſe five he tells us, *They have all their Teſtimony from their Miniſter that they are credible and famous Witneſſes.* And

P. 105. He rejects *Bullo*'s account, who was Epiſcopal Miniſter at *Stobo*, in one word, thus, *In this Narrative are many Lies, which is atteſted by Mr.* William Ruſſel (Presbyterian) *Miniſter at* Stobo. But the beſt is,

After he had run down all the Prelatical Accounts by this Upright Dealing of his, and concluded them all moſt horrid *Liers* and *Calumniators*, and all their *Relations* moſt horrid *Lies* and *Calumnies*: He tells you gravely in his *Preface*, § 6. *That the Truth of Matters of Fact, aſſerted in his Book is not to be taken from him, but from his Informers. That he pretends to perſonal Knowledge of few of them:*

That

That therefore, not his Veracity, but theirs, is pledged for the Truth of the Accounts he has publiſhed; *That if they have deceived him, or been deceived themſelves, he is not to Anſwer for it.*

Let the World judge if this was not a *ſure foot* for ſupporting ſuch Superſtructures as he rais'd upon it; and if his *Second Vindication* is not a *pleaſant Book*. Was it poſſible for him to have *Farced* it with more *bare-faced* Iniquities? What picqu'd the Man, ſo, at his own Book, as to publiſh it with ſo many fair Evidences of Diſingenuity, Partiality, Effrontery, and Downright Ridiculouſneſs, about it? What could move him to treat his own Brat with ſo little compaſſion? Was not this, even in a Literal ſenſe *Male Natum exponere fœtum*? Or rather what meant *he* by treating *himſelf* ſo unmercifully? For who ſees not that all the *Infamy* terminates on the Author, in the *Rebound*?

But, perchance, now that he is a profound Philoſophick *Head* of a *Colledge*, he may fall on a way to diſtinguiſh between his *own* and his

Books

Books Credit: Perchance he may think his *own* Credit ſecure enough, whatever hazard his *Books* may run. Well! He may try it if he will; but I would adviſe him not to be raſh in falling out ſo with the Book; For, as ſorry a Book as it is, yet, I perceive that with the aſſiſtance of a Neighbour Book, it can ſerve him a *Trick*, that may be ſufficient to put even his *impudent ſelf* a little out of Countenance. I'll be ſo kind to him as to let him ſee where the Danger lies.

He may remember, That the Author of the *Second Letter* (which, by the moſt probable Calculation I can make, was written in *December* 1689, or *January* 1690.) endeavoured to make it appear as probable, That the Leading Men in Government were, then, very much inclined to *Juſtify* the *Expulſion* of the *Clergy* by the *Rabble*, and ſuſtain their Churches *vacuated* by that *Expulſion*; and thereby cut off theſe poor Men from all hopes of being reſtored to their *Churches* or *Livings*, tho they had neither been Convicted of any Crime,

Crime, nor Deprived by any Sentence. Now

There's another Book, called *Ane Account of the Late Eſtabliſhment of Presbyterian Government by the Parliament, Anno* 1690. which gives a full and fair Account, how the thing was actually *Done*, how the *Expulſion* of the *Clergy* by the *Rabble* was actually *Juſtified* by that ſame *Act* of *Parliament* which eſtabliſhed Presbyterian Government.

If *G. R.* has not ſeen that Book, or is reſolved to reject its Teſtimony becauſe probably written by a *Party*: I can refer him to the Univerſal Conviction of the whole Nation, that ſuch a thing *was Done*, by that Act of Parliament: Nay I can refer him to the Act of Parliament it ſelf.

That Book tells alſo a ſhrewd ſtory concerning a Presbyterian Miniſter, called Mr. *Gilbert Rule*, who preached a Sermon before the Parliament on the 25 of *May*, being the *Sunday* before the *Act* was *Voted* in the *Houſe*; And, before he publiſhed it, wrote a *Preface* to it, after the Act was *Voted*, in which he *thanked* the *Houſe* very heartily

heartily for *Voting* ſuch ane Act: And if *G. R.* diſtruſts that Book, I refer him to Mr. *Rule*s printed *Preface* to his Sermon, where I am confident he may find ſatisfaction. Nay, I dare appeal to *G. R.* himſelf, if he knew not all theſe things to be true, before he wrote one Syllable of his *Second Vindication*: For theſe things were tranſacted, every one of them, before the middle of *June* 1690, and his *Second Vindication* came not abroad till more than a year after. Well!

But what of all this? how can this aſſiſt *G. R.*'s *Book* againſt *himſelf*, if it ſhould be irritated to ſerve him a Trick? Why? turn over to *p.* 43, 44, *&c.* and conſider how it diſcovers in him ſuch a *Brawny Impudence*, as never Ghoſt appearing in humane ſhape was guilty of, before him. For

Tho the *Letter man* was fully juſtified by the Event; tho what he ſaid *ſeem'd* to be intended by the Government, appear'd undeniably to have been intended by them in the Execution; tho they *Juſtified* the *Expulſion* of the *Clergy* by the *Rabble* as plainly and poſitively as ane Act of Parlia-

Parliament could do it; So plainly and positively, that the whole Nation was sensible of it, and cried shame upon it; That some Members, in the very time, resented it highly, calling it ane indelible Reproach upon the Justice of the Nation; That many Members to this very minute will frankly acknowledge, there was never greater or more notorious iniquity established by a Law. Tho *G. R.* knew it so well, and was so much pleased with it, that he thanked the Parliament with all his Soul for it, telling them, *He and his Party were filled with Joy, while they beheld the Religious Regard which the High and Honourable Court of Parliament had shewed to the Mountain of the Lords House, above other Mountains; in the Great Step towards the Establishing thereof that they had made by their Vote.* (Whereof that Justification of the Rabble was a great part) Tho he prayed, *That the Lord would reward them for their good Deeds* (whereof this was one) *towards his House.* Tho all these things were, and are, clear as the Light, and uncontroulable

as

as Matter of Fact can be; yet *G. R.* laſht the *Letter-man* till he had almoſt *flea'd* him; made him a *Railer*, one who *Underſtood* no *Logick*, a *Strainer at Silly Quibbles*, one who had ane Extraordinary Doſe of *Brow*, and whoſe *Wit was a Wool-gathering*, *&c.* And all this for telling this plain Truth, That the Government had a deſign to Juſtify the Expulſion of the Clergy by the Rabble.

Thus I think, I have made it appear how little tender *G. R.* was, even of his own beloved ſelf, when he was ſtraitned in his Argument: I might have eaſily adduced more Inſtances; but the Truth is, I am now very weary of him; and he himſelf has done himſelf the Juſtice, to repreſent himſelf to any Man's Satisfaction, who ſhall not be ſatisfied with the Repreſentation I have given of him: For he hath fairly own'd, that he ſets himſelf in oppoſition to thoſe whom he acknowledges to be the *Sobereſt* and *Wiſeſt* of his party. I don't love to be unjuſt to him; I'le give it you in his own words, as I find them, 1 *Vind. Anſ.* to *Queſt.* 5. ℣ 6. He

He was complaining of the Perſecutions his Party had met with for keeping *Conventicles*,&c. And amongſt other things, he diſcourſes thus, *There might have been ſome ſhadow for ſuch ſeverity againſt Meeting* (at Field-Conventicles) *with Arms, tho even that was in ſome Caſes neceſſary; but that was always diſallowed by the Sobereſt and Wiſeſt* Presbyterians. Now tis plain, there are here theſe two Affirmatives. 1. That *Meeting with Arms at Field Conventicles was in ſome Caſes neceſſary*: This is our Authors ſentiment. 2. That *Meeting with Arms at Field Conventicles, was always diſallowed by the Sobereſt and Wiſeſt Presbyterians:* This, I ſay, he plainly affirms to have been always the ſentiment of the *Sobereſt* and *Wiſeſt*. By Conſequence; are not both theſe Affirmatives joyned together *Equipollent* to this *Complexe* Propoſition, *Tho the Sobereſt and Wiſeſt Presbyterians did always diſallow of Meeting with Arms*, &c. *Yet, in my Judgment, it was ſometimes neceſſary*? And now have you not, from his own *Friendly* ſelf, a *Fair* Demonſtration of his own

Folly and *Futility*? For who but a *Futile Fool* would have ſaid, that he differed in his Sentiments from the *Sobereſt* and *Wiſeſt*? And now, to bring all home to my Original purpoſe.

By this time, I think, I have given Reaſon enough for my refuſing to accept of him for ane Anſwerer of my Book. No Man on Earth, I think, would willingly enter the Liſts with one who is ſo ſingular for four ſuch *Cardinal* Talents. Tho *Incureable Ignorance* and *Incorrigible Nonſence*, may be ſomething *pitiable*, as being the *Vices* of Nature rather than *Choice*; yet, 'tis no ſmall *Perſecution* for one to be obliged to grapple with them. What muſt it be then to be committed with the other two? *Rank Ill-nature*, I mean, and the moſt *ſtubborn Impudence*?

Some *Ill Natures* may be *cured:* Men may be either *cajol'd* or *cudgel'd* out of them. *Agelaſtus* himſelf *laught* once; ſo did Duke *D' Alva:* But what hopes can there be of one whoſe *Common Senſe* is ſo intrinſecally *vitiated*, that he can *avouch* the *courſeſt*, and

and moſt *Scurrilous Scolding* to be *Exceſſive Civility*? But this is not the worſt of it:

If there had been any thing *Venuſt* or *Lepid*, any ſhadow of *Concinnity* or *Feſtivity*, of *Jollity* or *Good Humor*, any thing like *Art*, or *Life*, or *Wit*, or *Salt*, in any *One* of *Fifty* of his *Exceſſive Civilities*; if they had had the leaſt *Tincture* of the *Satyre*, nay, if their *Mein* had reſembled ſo much as the *Murgeons* of ane *Ape*, I could have pardon'd him, and let his *Talent* paſs for *Tolerable*. There is ſomething delightful in *Marveliſm*, in *well humor'd wantonneſs*, in *lively* and judicious *Drollery*: There may be ſome *Enormous Strokes* of *Beauty* in a ſurprizing *Banter*; ſome irregular *Sweetneſs* in a well cook't *Bitterneſs*: But who can think on drinking nothing but *Corrupted Vinegar*? What humane patience can be hardy enough for entering the Liſts with *pure Barking* and *Whining*? with *Original Dullneſs*? who can think on Arming himſelf againſt the *Horns* of a *Snail*? or ſetting a *Match* for *Mewing* with a *Melancholy Cat*? But

What can be ſaid of his *Impudence*? his *Maſter-Talent*? Why? to tell Truth of it, I am not able to define it, and ſo I muſt let it alone; I know nothing in Nature like it: 'Tis too hard for all the Idea's or words I am Maſter of. Were I to talk any more of it, I ſhould deſign it his *Undefineable Attribute*. And now

I think our Author may be ſenſible, that it is not a *good* thing to caſt a *bad* Copy to the world, leſt ſome, for Curioſity, try if they can imitate it. For my part I do acknowledge, that I have croſſed my temper to make an Experiment, if it was poſſible to be *Even* with him: To let him ſee, that others, as well as he, if they ſet themſelves for it, may aim, at leaſt, at *Arguing the Caſe Cuttingly*, as he phraſes it (*Pref.* to *Vind.* § 6.)

One thing I am ſure of, I have been faithful in my Citations from his Books: And I am not conſcious that I have, ſo much as *once* forced ane *Unnatural* ſenſe on his words: For this, I am ſatisfied, that what I have ſaid, be tried with the greateſt and moſt impartial Accuracy. But,

if

if he is ſuch ane Author as I have truly repreſented him to be, I hope the world will allow that I *had*, and ſtill *have* Reaſon to refuſe to have any Dealing with him. Nay farther,

I think 'tis nothing for the Honour or Reputation of his Party, that he was ever imployed to be the *Vindicator* of their *Kirk*. If they can imploy any civil, diſcreet, ingenuous perſon to write for them, I ſhall be heartily ſatisfied; and for his Encouragement, I do promiſe, if he falls to my ſhare, I ſhall treat him ſuitably. Nay

After all, if even *G. R.* himſelf will lay aſide ſuch *Qualities*, as I have demonſtrated adhere to him; if he will undertake to write, with that *Gravity* and *Civility*, that *Charity* and *Modeſty*, that *Honeſty* and *Ingenuity*, which may be thought to become *One* of his *Age* and *Character*; I can as yet admit of him for my Adverſary, (for I think the Party cannot aſſign me a *weaker* one) And I do hereby promiſe him ane *Equitable Meeting*.

F I N I S.

ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE CONTENTS.

THE *Article* Page 1.
The Examination comprized in 5 Enquiries 2.
First Enquiry whither the Church of *Scotland* was Reformed, ſolely, by Preſbyters 3.
Prelates Concurred to our Reformation 4.
Our Reformation moſtly performed by Laiks 5.
Second Enquiry, whither our Reformers, Presbyterians 8.
The importance of this Enquiry ib.
Four Preſumptions *that our Reformers were not for the Divine Right of parity, &c.* 9.
I Preſumption. *No ſuch Controverſie agitated in the Proteſtant Churches, while ours was a Reforming* ib.
II Preſump. *Our Reformers as little employed about ſuch Controverſies as any Reformers* 14.
III Preſump. *None of our Reformers can be proven to have been for the Divine Right of parity, &c.* 15.
Some did not indeed much value Holy Orders 16.
They declaim'd generally againſt popiſh B.B. 18.
But as much againſt Presbyters 19.

The Earl of Murray *no Presbyterian* 22.
Nor John Knox, *largely* 24.
IV Presump. *Our Reformation cherished principally (under God) by* English *influences* 38.
Scotland *naturally disposed to be influenced from* England 39.
How free of Foreign influences in the time of the Reformation 41.
How much K. Henry 8th *of* Engl. *earnest to have an interest in* Scottish *affairs* 43.
Particularly to Promote a Reformation in Scotland 55
How zealous the Papists *were of this* 60.
K. Edward *pursued the same design* 64.
English *influences in Q.* Mary's *time* 65.
More vigorous in Q. Elizabeth's *time* 67.
Our chief Reformers enlightned in Engl. 69.
None of them enlightned elsewhere 70.
Our Reformers in Communion with the Church of England 71.
Even Knox. 75.
The English *allowed of our Communion* 80.
Both Churches then, of one Constitution ib.
Evident, from publick Deeds, Treaties, &c. 81.
From the Scottish *publick prayers* 91.
Such an unity of Religion, then, between the two Nations, that our modern Presbyterians cannot be the successors of our Reformers 93
English Liturgy *used for* 7 *years in* Scotland 95
Our Reformers allowed the same power to the civil Magistrate in Religious Matters, which the English *Reformers allowed* 101
Our Reformers agreed with the English *Reformers*

formers in the Rule *of Reformation* 105
A Recapitulation repreſenting the force of theſe four preſumptions 106
Direct proofs that our Reformers were for imparity 107
All their Petitions *for Reformation clearly for* imparity 108
They eſtabliſhed a Government which ſubſiſted by imparity *amongſt Paſtors* 119
The prehemineencies of Superintendents *enumerated* 120
The Presbyterian pleas *diſpatched* 140
1 Plea. *That* Superintendency *was deſigned only to be Temporary. Largely diſcuſſed* ib.
G. K.'s *ſtrange Divinity conſidered* 156
2 Plea. *That* Superintendents *were not Biſhops, largely diſcuſſed* 157
3 Plea. *That* Superintendency *was never eſtabliſhed by Act of Parl. (being* G. K.'s plea*) diſcuſſed* 164
An Hiſtorical introduction to the ſettlement of Epiſcopacy, Anno 1572 166
The Antient method of preparing matters for Scottiſh *Parliaments* 183
The ſettlement of Epiſcopacy An. 1572 185
The Presbyterian pleas *againſt that Settlement* 187
1 Plea. *Taken from the incompetency of the Authority of the Aſſembly at* Leith, *diſcuſſed* ib.
2 Plea. *That the Clergy were under force from the Court, largely diſcuſſed* 192
3 Plea. *The limitedneſs of the Epiſcopacy then ſettled, diſſcuſſed* 199

4 Plea. *That that* Epiſcopacy *was never approven by the Church, largely defeated* 200
Biſhops, *then conſtant Members of Aſſemblies* 201
That ſettlement approven by ſeveral Aſſemblies 202
Largely purſued : *And* G. K. *corrected* 204
A Recapitulation of what hath been ſaid on theſe pleas 226
The Riſe *and* Progreſs *of* Presbyterianiſm *in* Scotland 217
Mr. Andrew Melvin ib.
John Durer 219
Epiſcopacy *firſt quarrelled* Aug. 6. 1575 220
The Parity-men *at that time defeated* 221
Petrie *expoſed* 223
Parity-men *defeated alſo at the next Aſſ. holden in* April 1576 228
Probable, That Morton *and Q.* Elizabeth *were on the plot for introducing* Presbytery *into* Scotland 232 237
Second Book of Diſcipline *when firſt projected* 242
The Prelatiſts very much ignorant, then, of true Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity, &c. 243
Evident from the inſtance of Adamſone 244
From their not challenging the unlearned poſitions in the 2d Book of Diſcipline 246
Nor the unlearned poſitions in Beza's *Book,* De Triplici Epiſcopatu 247
Presbyterianiſm weak at the Aſſembly holden in Octob. 1576 250
Made no direct progreſs, in the Aſſ. holden in April 1577 253

Nor

Nor in the next Aſſ. Octob. 1577 255
Got two advantages this year ib.
Morton *dimitted the Regency* ib.
Beza's *Book brought to* Scotland 256
Made conſiderable progreſs in the Aſſembly, April 24 1578 258
More progreſs in June 1578 260
More, yet, in Octob. 1578 261
More in July 1579 263
Presbyteries *firſt heard of in this Aſſ.* ib.
Deſcription of a Scottiſh Presbytery 264
G. K's, *impudent ignorance expoſed, in the* Riſe *of* Presbyteries 266
The Second Book *of* Diſcipline *not ſworn to in the* Negative *Confeſſion* 270
Epiſcopacy *condemned in* July 1580 ib.
The Act of the Aſſ. condemning it 271
A Recapitulation of what hath been ſaid on the ſecond Enquiry 272
A demonſtration that Presbyterians *are not the* Succeſſors *of our* Reformers 275
THIRD ENQUIRY whither Prelacy, &c. a great and unſupportable Grievance, &c. ever ſince the Reformation 277
Demonſtrated that it was not ib.
By Reaſon ib.
By Teſtimonies 278
It was no ſuch Grievance *for the firſt* 15 *years after the Reformation* 278
Nor for 40 *after theſe* 15 280
No not to Presbyterians themſelves An. 1637 *And downward* 281

The Contents.

A challenge to the Presbyterians to produce any Evidence that Prelacy *was such a* Grievance, *ever since the Reformation* 286
G. K.*'s shameless ignorance, in his attempt, discovered* 293
His ignorant impudence again discovered 293
FOURTH ENQUIRY, whither Prelacy, such a Grievance,&c. when the Article was formed 295
Probably, the Rabbling work, the Fund of the Assertion in the Article 296
The Author of Plain Dealings *Arguments, about the inclinations of the people despised* 300
The Author of the 10 Questions *his Arguments vindicated against* G. K. 301
The Farther Vindicators *Arguments examined* 306
The Arguments insisted on by the Author of the Third Letter, *vindicated against* G. K. 310
G. K.*'s ridiculous limitations of the* inclinations of the people 317
The Article represented, with these limitations 320
G. K.*'s Argument for his side of the Question considered* 321
Some Questions proposed for the clearer demonstration of this Controversy 323
FIFTH ENQUIRY whither the premisses in the Article, if true, would be competent for inferring the Conclusion 327

Not the firſt, *viz. The inclinations of the people* ib.
Not the ſecond, *viz. That this Church was Reformed by Presbyters* 331
Their Reaſons probably, choſen rather for their popularity than their ſolidity 333
Eſpecially the latter, to make the Prelatiſts odious for deſerting our Reformers ib.
Owned that in ſome things, they have deſerted them 334
A Specimen *of the principles eſpouſed by our Reformers, and rejected by the Epiſcopal Clergy* 335
Particularly Knox 338
A Specimen *of his Evangelical prayers* ib.
He was a Providentialiſt 339
A ſhort apology for our deſerting our Reformers in theſe principles 343
The Presbyterians have more deſerted them 346
I. *in Matters of* Faith ib.
II. *in Matters of* Worſhip 348
Our Reformers, for Presbyterians againſt Liturgies ibid. *more particularly, our Modern Presbyterians have deſerted our Reformers* 351
In the Prayers *of the Church* 352
In the Lords prayer 355
In the Creed *in the ordinary Worſhip* ib.
In the Reading of the Scriptures 356
In the office of publick Praiſe 358
In the decent Circumſtances *of theſe offices* 360
In the adminiſtration of Baptiſm 362
In the adminiſtration of the Euchariſt 363

How

How our Modern Presbyterians celebrated the Eucharist 368
The Schismatical conditions they are bound to require of Communicants 375
A surprizing Schismatical measure taken by the Presbytery of Edenburg *Anno* 1648 *&* 1649 376
In the celebration of Marriage 382
In the Burial *of the Dead* 383
In the matter of Ordinations 384
In the way of Electing Pastors ib.
III. *In the* Discipline *of the Church* 393
Instances, wherein they have deserted their own second Book of Discipline 394
IV. *In the* government *of the Church* 396
In the Churches making one *of the* Three Estates *of Parl.* 397
A Recapitulation of the Presbyterian Recessions, &c. 411
They have receded, in many things, from all other Reformed Churches ib.
The Authors design in insisting so much on these their Recessions from our Reformers 414
A wish for Peace ib.
The Article lyable to many other expressions 415
Some instances ib.
The Conclusion 421

The

The Article.

That Prelacy and the Superiority of any Office in the Church above Presbyters, is, and hath been, a great and insupportable Grievance and Trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the people, ever since the Reformation; (they having Reformed from Popery by Presbyters) And therefore ought to be Abolished.

THis Article was Established in our *Claim of Right*, April 11. 1689. By vertue of this Article *Prelacy* was actually Abolished by Act of Parliament, *July* 22. 1689. Upon the foot of

this Article *Presbyterian Government* was Eſtabliſhed, *June* 7. *Anno* 1690. This *Act* Eſtabliſhing Presbyterian Government was Ratified in the whole *Heads*, *Articles* and *Clauſes* thereof, *June* 12. 1693. It is indiſputable then, That This Article is the Great Foundation of that Great Alteration which hath been made in the Government of the Church of *Scotland*, ſince the Beginning of the Late Revolution. Whether, therefore, This is a *Solid* or a *Sandy* Foundation? cannot but be deem'd a Material Queſtion: And, I think, I ſhall bid fair for the Determination of this Queſtion, if I can give clear and diſtinct Satisfaction to theſe following Enquiries.

I. Whether the Church of *Scotland* was Reform'd ſolely, by perſons cloath'd with the Character of *Presbyters*?

II. Whether our *Scottiſh* Reformers, whatever their Characters were, were of the preſent Presbyterian Principles? Whether they were for the Divine inſtitution of *Parity*, and the unlawfulneſs of *Prelacy*, amongſt the Paſtors of the Church?

III. Whether Prelacy and the ſuperiority of any Office in the Church, above Presbyters, was a great and inſupportable Grievance and trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, ever ſince the Reformation? IV. Whe-

IV. Whether it was *Such* when this Article was Eſtabliſhed in the *Claim of Right*?

V. Whether, ſuppoſing the premiſſes in the Article were True, They would be of ſufficient Force to infer the Concluſion, *viz.* That *Prelacy*, and the Superiority of any Office in the Church, ought to be aboliſhed?

The Determination of the main Queſtion, I ſay, may competently reſult from a perſpicuous diſcuſſion of theſe five Enquiries: And therefore I ſhall attempt it as fairly as I can, leaving to the world to judge, equitably, of my performance: And without further prefacing, I come to

The Firſt Enquiry.

Whether the Church of Scotland *was Reformed, ſolely, by perſons cloath'd with the Character of* Presbyters?

IF the Framers of the Article meant that it was in theſe words, *They having Reformed from Popery by Presbyters*, I think, I am pretty ſure they meant amiſs: For there is nothing more obvious to one who reads and compares our Hiſtories, than That perſons ſtanding in other ſtations, and cloath'd with other Characters, had a very

great hand, and were very conſiderable Inſtruments in carrying on our Reformation. Particularly,

1. There were *Prelates* who concurred in that work as well as *Presbyters*. *Knox* ſays there were preſent in the Parliament holden in *Auguſt*, 1560. (which Parliament gave the firſt National Eſtabliſhment to our Reformation) *The Biſhop of* Galloway, *the Abbots of Lundoris, Culroſs, St. Colmes-inih, Coldingham, Saint Mary-iſle*, and *the Subprior of St. Andrews, with diverſe others*: And of all theſe, he ſays, *That they had Renounced Papiſtrie, and openly profeſſed* Jeſus Chriſt. (a) *Spotſwood* reckons up no fewer than *Eight* of the *Spiritual Eſtate*, all *Proteſtants*, choſen, at that time, to be *Lords of the Articles*: Namely, (b) *the Biſhops of Galloway and Argyle, the Prior of St. Andrews, the Abbots of Aberbrothoik, Kilwinning, Lundors, Newbottle and Culroſs.* Lay theſe two Accounts together, and you ſhall have, at leaſt a *Round Dozen* of *Reforming Prelates*. 'Tis True *Spotſwood* ſays, *The Popiſh Prelates ſtormed* mightily *at ſuch a Nomination for the Articles, alledging that ſome of them were meer Laicks.* But what if it was ſo? I am apt to think, our Presbyterian Brethren will not be *fond* to make much advantage of this: I am apt to think, they will not ſay, That all thoſe whom they allow to have been *Reforming Presbyters*, were *Duely* and *Canonically Ordained*: That they were ſolemnly *ſeperated* for the Miniſtery, by ſuch as had *Commiſſion*

(a) Kn. 260.

(b) Spot. 149.

and

and *Power* to *Separate* them, and in ſuch Manner as had Univerſally obtained, from the Apoſtles times, in the *Separation* of *Preſbyters* for their holy Function. The plain truth is,

2. Our Reformation was principally carried on by ſuch as neither *Did*, nor *Could* pretend to be Canonically promoted to Holy Orders. *Knox* himſelf (*c*) tells us, that when the Reformation began to make its more publick Advances, which was in the Year 1558. there was a great Scarcety of Preachers: *At that time* (ſays he) *we had no publick Miniſters of the word; Only did certain Zealous Men* (*among whom were* the Laird of Dun, David Forreſs, Mr. Robert Lockhart, Mr. Robert Hamilton, William Harlaw, *and others*) *Exhort their Brethren, according to the Gifts and Graces granted to them: But ſhortly after did God ſtir up his Servant* Paul Methven, *&c.* Here, we have but a very Diminutive account of them, as to Number: And ſuch an Account, as, in its very *Air* and *Countenance*, ſeems to *own* they were generally but *Lay Brethren*: They were but *Zealous Men*, not *Canonically ordained Preſbyters*: And if we may believe *Leſly*, *Paul Methven* was, by Occupation, a *Baker*, and *William Harlaw* a *Taylor*. (*d*) *The Laird of Dun*, that ſame very year, was *Provoſt* of *Montroſe*, and, as ſuch, ſent to *France*, as one repreſenting, not the *Firſt* or the *Spiritual*, but the *Third Eſtate* of Parliament, *the Burrows*; to attend at the Cele-

(*c*) Kn. 127.

(*d*) Leſl. 496.

bration of the *Queens Marriage*, with the *Dauphine* of *France*: (e) He was indeed a Gentleman of good Eſteem and Quality, and he was afterwards a *Superintendent*, but it no where appears that he was ever *Received* into *Holy Orders*. Nay,

(e) Leſl. 494. Spot. 95.

3. After the pacification at *Leith*, which was concluded in *July* 1560, when the Miniſters were diſtributed amongſt the ſeveral Towns, we find but a very ſmall Number of them. *John Knox* was appointed for *Edenburgh*, *Chriſtopher Goodman* for *St. Andrews*, *Adam Herriot* for *Aberdeen*, *John Row* for *Perth*, *William Chryſtiſon* for *Dundee*, *David Ferguſon* for *Dunfermline*, *Paul Methven* for *Jedburgh*, and Mr. *David Lindeſay* for *Leith*. Beſide theſe, *Five* were nominated to be *Superintendents*; *Spotſwood* for *Lothian* and *Mers*, *Winram* for *Fife*, *the Laird of Dun* for *Angus* and *Merns*, *Willock* for *Glaſgow*, and *Carſewell* for *Argyle* and the *Iſles*. Theſe are all who are reckoned up by *Knox* and *Spotſwood*: (f) And *Spotſwood* adds, *With this ſmall Number was the Plantation of the Church, at firſt, undertaken.* And can we think, tho all theſe had been *Presbyters duly ordained*, That they were the *only* men who carried on the *Scottiſh* Reformation? Farther yet,

(f) Kn. 259. Spot. 149.

(g) Pet. 322.

4. *Petrie* (g) tells us, that the Firſt General Aſſembly, which was holden in *Dec.* 1560, conſiſted of 44 perſons; and I find exactly 44 Names Recorded in my Mſs. Extract of the Acts of the General Aſſembly's, as the

the Names of the Members of that Aſſembly: But of all theſe 44, there were not above *Nine*, at moſt, who were called *Miniſters*; ſo that, at leaſt, more than *Thirty*, were but *Lay-Brethren* according to the *then* way of *Reckoning*: probably, they were generally ſuch, if you ſpeak in the *Dialect*, and reckon by the Meaſures of the Catholick Church in all Ages. In ſhort,

5: There is nothing more evident to any who conſiders the Hiſtories of theſe times, than, that they were generally *Laymen*, who promoted our *Violent and Diſordered Reformation*, as *Spotſwood* juſtly calls it. (*b*) And 'tis Reaſonable to think, the Senſe of this was One Argument, which prevailed with our Reformers to *Declare* againſt the *Antient, Catholick*, and *Apoſtolick Ceremony* of *Impoſition of Hands* in *Ordinations*; as is to be ſeen in the *4th Head* of the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, (*i*) and as is generally acknowledged.

(*b*) Spot. 60.

(*i*) Spot. 156.

Thus I think I have ſufficiently deduced Matters, as to my Firſt Enquiry: It had been eaſy to have inſiſted longer on it; but I had no inclination for it, conſidering that there is a kind of *Piety* in *Diſpatch*, when, the longer one inſiſts on a ſubject of this Nature, he muſt ſtill the more *Expoſe* the *Failures* of our Reformation, and the *Weakneſſes* of our Reformers. Proceed we now to

The Second Enquiry.

Whether our Scottiſh *Reformers, whatever their Characters were, were of the preſent Presbyterian principles? Whether they were for the Divine Inſtitution of Parity, and the Unlawfulneſs of Prelacy amongſt the Paſtors of the Church.*

THis Enquiry, if I miſtake not, is pretty far, in the intereſts of the main Queſtion: For, the *Article*, as I am apt to take it, aims at this, That our Reformation was carried on, with ſuch a *Diſlike* to *Prelacy, or the Superiority of any Office in the Church, above Presbyters*, as made *Prelacy, or ſuch a Superiority, ever ſince, a great and inſupportable Grievance and Trouble to this Nation*, &c. But if this is the Senſe of the Article, what elſe is it, Than that our *Reformers* were *Presbyterians?* But whether or not, This was truly intended, (as 'tis truly very hard to know what was intended) in the Article, This is Certain, this *Enquiry* is material and pertinent; And if it *faces* not the *Article Directly*, Undoubtedly, it doth it, by *fair Conſequence*. 'Tis as certain, our Presbyterian Brethren uſe, with confidence enough, to aſſert that our Reformers were of their Principles. This is *One* of the *Main* Arguments by which they

they endeavour, on all occaſions, to influence the Populace, and Gain Proſelytes to their Party: And therefore I ſhall endeavour to go as near to the bottom of this Matter as I can, and ſet it in its due Light; And I hope, It ſhall appear to be competently Done, to all who ſhall, attentively and impartially, *weigh* the following Deduction. And

I. Let it be conſidered, That while our Reformation was on the *Wheel*, and for ſome years after its publick Eſtabliſhment, there was no ſuch Controverſy agitated, in *Europe*, as this, concerning *The Divine Inſtitution of Parity or Imparity amongſt the Paſtors of the Church*.

The *Popes* pretended univerſal *Headſhip* was Called in Queſtion, indeed; And, Called in Queſtion, it was run down with all imaginable Reaſon, ſome years, before the Settlement of our Reformation. That Controverſie was *One* of the *Firſt*, which were accurately ventilated by the Patrons of Reformation. And it was very natural that it ſhould have been ſo, conſidering what *ſtreſs* was *laid* upon it by the *Pontificians*.

'Tis likewiſe true, That the Corruptions of the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate, were Enquired into, in moſt Provinces, every where, where the *Truth* began to *Dawn*, and the Reformation was Encouraged: And it was not to be imagined, but in ſuch *Scrutinies*, Biſhops would be taken notice of, for their general

general *Defection* from the Antient Rules and Meaſures of the Epiſcopal Office, and the vaſt Diſſimilitude between them, and thoſe of the ſame Order in the primitive times, both as to the *Diſcharge* of their *Truſt*, and their *Way* of *Living*: And who doubts, but in theſe things the *Popiſh* Biſhops were too generally culpable?

'Tis farther true, That ſome Countries, when they reformed Religion, and ſeparated from the Church of *Rome*, did ſet up *New Models* of Government in the Churches they erected, as they thought their civil Conſtitutions could beſt bear them: And having once ſet them up, what wonder if they did what they could to juſtify them, and maintain their Lawfulneſs? Thus, for inſtance, Mr. *Calvin* erected a *Model* of the *Democratical Size* at *Geneva*, becauſe that State had then caſt it ſelf into a *Democracy*. And the Proteſtants in *France*, partly for Conveniency, partly in imitation of *Calvins* Platform, fell upon a method of governing their Churches without Biſhops; And ſo it fared with ſome other Churches, as in *Switzerland*, *&c.* while in the mean time other Churches thought it enough for them to Reform the Doctrine and Worſhip, without altering the *Ancient form* of Government. But then

'Tis as evident as any thing in Hiſtory, that all this while, from the firſt Dawnings of the Reformation, I mean, till ſome years after the publick Eſtabliſhment of our

our Reformation, That there was no ſuch Controverſie inſiſted on, by *Proteſtants*, either in their Debates with the *Papiſts*, or with one another, as that, about the *Divine* and *Unalterable Inſtitution of parity or imparity*, amongſt the Paſtors of the Church. And I dare confidently challenge my Presbyterian Brethren to produce any *One Proteſtant Confeſſion of Faith* for their ſide of the Queſtion: Nay more, I dare challenge them to inſtance in any *One Proteſtant Divine*, of Note, who, in theſe times, maintained their ſide of the Controverſy; who maintain'd the *Unlawfulneſs* of *Imparity* amongſt Chriſtian Paſtors, before *Theodore Beza* did it, *if he did it.* Sure I am They cannot, without the greateſt impudence, pretend that Mr. *Calvin* (the only Tranſmarine Divine, I can find, conſulted by our Reformers about matters relating to our Reformation) was of their Principles. For whoſo ſhall be pleaſed to conſult his Commentaries on the New Teſtament, particularly on 1 *Cor.* 11. 2. Or ſome *Chapters* in the beginning of his 4*th Book* of *Inſtitutions*; Or his Book about the *Neceſſity of Reforming the Church*; Or his Epiſtles, particularly his Epiſtle directed to the *Protector* of *England*, dated *Octob.* 22 1548. Or to *Cranmer* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; (*k*) To the Biſhop of *London*; (*l*) To *Ithavius* Biſhop of *Uladiſlavia*, dated *Decem.* 1. *An.* 1558; (*m*) Or his Reſolution of that Caſe, *if a Biſhop or Curate joyn himſelf to the Church, &c.* (*n*) Or laſtly,

(*k*) Calv. Epiſt. Col. 134, 135.
(*l*) Col. 316.
(*m*) Col.
(*n*) Col. 466.

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(*k*) Calv. Epiſt. Col. 134, 135.
(*l*) Col. 316.
(*m*) Col.
(*n*) Col. 466.

(o) Col. 190.

laſtly, his Epiſtle to the King of *Poland* (o), wherein he tells him, That, "It was No-"thing but pride and ambition that intro-"duced the *Popes* Supremacy; That the "Ancient Church, had, indeed her *Patri-"archs* and *Primates*, for the Expedition of "Diſcipline, and the Preſervation of Unity: "As if, in the Kingdom of *Poland* one "Archbiſhop ſhould have the precedency "of the reſt of the Biſhops, not that he "might Tyrannize over them, but for "Orders ſake, and for Cheriſhing Unity "amongſt his Collegues and Brethren; And "next to him there ſhould be Provincial, or "City Biſhops for keeping all things orderly "in the Church. *Nature teach-"ing* (ſays he) *that from every "Colledge, One ſhould be choſen who "ſhould have the chief Management "of affairs.* But, 'Tis another "thing for one Man, as the *Pope* "doth, to arrogate that to himſelf which "exceeds all humane abilities; namely, The "Power of governing the whole Univerſe. Whoſo ſhall perpend theſe writings of Mr. *Calvins*, I ſay, ſhall find that he was very far from maintaining the *Unlawfulneſs* of *Prelacy*. Nay, farther yet, I challenge my Presbyterian Brethren, upon their ingenuity to tell me, weither it was not a good many years after 1560. that *Beza* himſelf (the *true founder* of their *Sect*) condemn'd *Prelacy, if he did condemn it.*

Sicut hoc Natura dictat, unum ex ſingulis Collegiis deligendum, cui præcipua Cura incumbat.

I ſay,

I say, *if he did maintain the Necessity of Parity, and condemn'd Prelacy*; For however he may seem, upon several occasions, not only to give the preference to Presbyterian Government, and represent it as the most eligible, But to endeavour to found it on Scripture; And represent Episcopacy as an humane invention, yet I have not observed that, any where, he calls it *absolutely* or *simply Unlawful*. On the contrary, he says in express terms, *That it is Tolerable when it is duely Bounded; when the pure Canons of the Ancient Church are kept in vigour to keep it within its proper Limits.*

Humanus Episcopatus tolerabilis quidem esset, Modo veteres puri Canones, impediendæ Oligarchiæ constituti, in usum revocarentur. Beza in Resp. ad 1 Quæst. a Dom. Glam. propositam.

Sure I am, he was not for separating from a Church (as our modern Presbyterians are) upon the account of its Governments being *Episcopal*, as might be made appear fully from his Letters; so that whatever greater Degrees of *Dislike* to *Episcopacy* he may have discovered, beyond his Predecessor Mr. *Calvin*, yet it is not unreasonable to think, that his great *aim* was no more, than to justify the Constitution of the Church, he lived in; and recommend it as a pattern to other Churches.

The Scope of this whole Consideration is this, That if what I have asserted is *true*; if there was no such Controversie agitated, all the time our Church was a Reforming, nor for a good many years after; Then we have one *fair Presumption*, that our *Reformers*

were

were not *Presbyterians*: It is not likely that they were for the *Indispensibility* of *Parity*, that being the *side* of a Question, which, in these times, was not begun to be *tossed*. And this *Presumption* will appear, yet, more *ponderous*, if

II. It be considered, that we have no reason to believe, that our Reformers had any peculiar Motives, or Occasions, for adverting to the pretended Evils of *Prelacy*; or any peculiar interests to determine them for *Parity*, beyond other Churches; or that they were more sharp-sighted to espy faults in *Prelacy*, or had opportunities or inclinations to search more diligently, or enquire more narrowly, into these matters than other Reformers. The truth is

The Controversies about *Doctrine* and *Worship*, were the great ones which took up the thoughts of our Reformers, and imployed their most serious Applications. This is obvious to any who considers the accounts we have of them; so very obvious, that *G. R.* himself fairly confesses it in his *First Vind. ad Quest.* 1. where he tells us, *That the Errors and Idolatry of that way* (meaning Popery) *were so gross, and of such immediate hazard to the Souls of People, That it is no wonder that our Reformers minded these First and Mainly, and thought it a great step to get these Removed; so that they took some more time to consult about the Reforming of the Government of the Church.* From which, 'tis plain, he confesses,

confeſſes, the Reformation of the Churches Government was not the ſubject of their *Main Thinking*; which indeed is very true, and cannot but appear to be ſo, to any who conſiders what a *Lame* Scheme was then *dreſt* up by them. But however this was, 'tis enough to my preſent purpoſe, That our Reformers were more imployed in reforming the *Doctrine* and *Worſhip*, than in thinking about Church *Governments*. From which, together with the former *preſumption*, which was, that our preſent Controverſies were not begun to be agitated in theſe times, one of two things muſt follow unavoidably, *viz.* either 1. That if they were for the *Divine* and *indiſpenſible Right* of *Parity*, 'tis no great matter; their Authority is not much to be valued in a Queſtion about which they had *thought* ſo Little; Or 2. That it is to be preſumed, they were *not* for the *Divine Right* of *Parity*, That being the ſide of a Queſtion, which was not then agitated in any Proteſtant Church, and as Little in *Scotland*, as any. To be ingenuous, I think both inferences good, tho 'tis only the *Laſt* I am concerned for at preſent. But this is not all, For

III. So far as my opportunities would allow me, I have had a ſpecial eye on all our *Reformers*, as I found them in our Hiſtories. I have noticed their ſentiments about Church Government as carefully as I could; And I have not found ſo much as one

one amongſt them, who hath either *directly* or *indirectly*, aſſerted the *Divine* and *Unalterable Right* of *Parity*.

By our *Reformers*, here, I mean ſuch as were either 1. *Martyrs*, or 2. *Confeſſors* for the Reformed Religion, before it had the countenance of Civil Authority, or 3. Such as lived when it was publickly eſtabliſhed, and had a hand in bringing it to that perfection. Such, I think, and ſuch only, deſerved the Name of our Reformers: And, here, again I dare be bold to challenge my Presbyterian Brethren, to adduce clear and plain proof that ſo much as any *one man* of the *whole Number* of our *Reformers*, was of the *preſent* principles of the *party*.

Some of them, indeed, ſeem to have laid no great *ſtreſs* on *Holy Orders*, and to have been of opinion, That *perſonal Gifts* and *Graces* were a ſufficient *Call* to any man to preach the Goſpel; and undertake the paſtoral Office. Thus that excellent perſon *Mr. George Wiſhart*, who, in moſt things, ſeems to have juſter notions of the Goſpel Spirit, than moſt of our other Reformers, when, at his Tryal, he was charged with this Article, *That every man was a Prieſt, and that the Pope had no more power than another man*, anſwered to this purpoſe, "That *St. John ſaith* "*of all Chriſtians, He hath made us Kings and* "*Prieſts.* And *St. Peter, He hath made us a* "*Kingly Prieſthood.* That, therefore, any "man, skill'd in the Word of God, and "true Faith of Chriſt, had power given "him

" him of God; But he that was unlearned,
" and not exerciſed in the word of God,
" nor conſtant in the Faith, whatever his
" ſtate or order was, had no *power* to *bind*,
" or to *looſe*, ſeeing he wanted the word of
" God, which is the *Inſtrument* of *binding* (p) Ken.
" and *looſing*. (p) And 64.

'Tis probable, This was a prevailing opinion in thoſe times, from the too common practice of it. But hath this any *relation* to the *Divine Right* of *Parity?* Doth it not *ſtrick* equally againſt *both Orders*, that of *Presbyters*, as well as that of *Biſhops?* Is it not plainly to ſet up the *Jus Laicorum Sacerdotale* in oppoſition to both? And who can ſay but this *Opinion* might have been in a *Breaſt*, which entertain'd no *ſcruples* about the *Lawfulneſs* of *Epiſcopacy*? No doubt it might; and no doubt it was, actually, ſo with this ſame holy *Martyr:* For, he was not only willing that the *then* Biſhops, tho *Popiſh*, ſhould be his Judges; He not only gave them ſtill their *Titles*, and payed them all the *Reſpect* that was *Due* to their *Order* and *Character* (homages infinitely ſcandalous with our modern Presbyterians) as is to be obſerved thro all the ſteps of his Tryal: But in his laſt Exhortation to the People, at the very *Stake*, he beſpake them thus; (q) *I* (q) Ken.
beſeech you Brethren and Siſters, to exhort your 70.
Prelates to the Learning of the Word of God; that they may be aſhamed to do evil, and learn to do good; and if they will not convert themſelves from their wicked Errors, there ſhall haſtily come

upon them, the wrath of God which they ſhall not eſchew.

Here you ſee the *Dying Martyr* was earneſt, that the *Popiſh Prelates* might quit their *Errors*, not their *Prelations*. What is there here that looks like a *Divine-Right-of-Parity-man*? Indeed he was none of that *Principle*: He had had his Principles from *England*, as we ſhall find hereafter. Only one thing more about him, here; He was not for *Club law* Reformations: He was neither for violent Poſſeſſions of Churches, nor for propagating the *Cauſe* by *Rabbles*, if we may believe *Knox*'s accounts of him.

Others, again, of our Reformers, Declaim'd loudly againſt the Biſhops of theſe times, and condemn'd them ſeverely, and perhaps too deſervedly: But what is this to the *Order*? Doth every man *condemn* the *Office*, who *condemns* this or that *Officer*? If ſo, then, ſure, the *Order* of *Presbyters* was as bad as the *Order* of *Biſhops*, in the judgment of our Reformers; For inſtance, hear *Walter Milne* in his Exhortation to the People, at his Martyrdom: *Therefore as ye would* (r) *eſcape Eternal Death, be no more ſeduced with the Lies of* (whom? of Biſhops only? No, but of the whole collection of) *the Prieſts, Abbots, Monks, Friars, Priors, Biſhops, and the reſt of the Sect of Antichriſt.* But 'tis needleſs to adduce the Teſtimonies of private perſons: we have the publick *Deeds* of the *Proteſtants* of theſe times, very clear to this purpoſe. Thus,

(r) Spot.

They

They directed a *Declaration* of their minds to the *Popiſh Clergy*, under this Title, *To the Generation of Antichriſt, the peſtilent Prelates and their Shavelings within* Scotland, *&c.* (ſ) And were not *Presbyters* of the number of theſe *Shavelings*? And what can be more patt to this purpoſe than the *Supplication* which was preſented by our Reformers to the Parliament, *Anno* 1560? There they tell the Eſtates, *That they cannot ceaſe to crave of their Honours, the Redreſs of ſuch Enormities, as manifeſtly are, and of a long time have been committed by the Place-holders of the Miniſtery, and others of the Clergy —— They offer evidently to prove, that, in all the Rabble of the Clergy, there is not one Lawful Miniſter —— And therefore they crave, that they may be deterned unworthy of Honour, Authority, Charge, or Care, in the Church of God, &c.* (t) Whoſo pleaſes may ſee more of their publick Repreſentations, to this effect, in *Knox*'s Hiſtory. (w) Now, what can be more clear than that all this work was againſt *Presbyters*, as much as againſt *Biſhops*? and by conſequence, againſt *Both Offices*, or againſt *neither*? as, indeed, it was againſt *neither*, as I ſhall afterwards demonſtrate from this ſame *Petition*. In ſhort, nothing can be more evident to ane attentive Reader, than that in all theſe *Efforts* of the *Zeal* of our Reformers, againſt the *Popiſh Biſhops*, it was only the *Popery*, and, not at all, the *Prelacy*, that was aim'd at. They never condemned *Biſhops* as *Biſhops*, but only as *Popiſh Biſhops*.

(ſ) Kn. 146.

(t) Kn. 260.

(w) p. 135. & 143.

I have inſiſted the more largely on theſe things, becauſe, I know, People are apt to miſtake in this matter, who do not ſufficiently attend to the *Dialect* of theſe *times*; Eſpecially when they read the Hiſtory which is commonly called *John Knox's*. I return now to my purpoſe, and repeat my aſſertion, *viz.* That our *Presbyterian Brethren* cannot adduce ſo much as *one* of our *Martyrs*, our *Confeſſors*, or thoſe who had any *remarkable hand* in the Eſtabliſhment of our Reformation, in the year 1560, who was of the *Modern Presbyterian Principles.*

Three Authors have indeed attempted it; The Author of the Pamphlet entituled, *The Courſe of Conformity*; Mr. *Calderwood*, and Mr. *Petrie.*

The Author of the *Courſe of Conformity* in his *4th Chap.* reckons up a full *Dozen* of ſuch as (he ſays) gave *Evident and full Teſtimony* againſt *Biſhoprie*, as he calls it. But he has not recorded the Teſtimony of any *One*, except *Knox.*

All the reſt he proves to have been enemies to *Prelacy*, by this one Argument: *They preached zealouſly againſt Popery, And Biſhoprie is one of the greateſt Errors and Corruptions of that.* He neither offers at *proving* his *Subſumption*, nor at adducing any other Topick: And has he not proven the point demonſtratively? Beſides, ſome of his *Dozen* were not heard of till ſeveral years after the Reformation, and ſo, cannot be brought in *Barr* againſt my Challenge.

Further,

Further, He has had the ill Luck to name ſuch for the half of his *Dozen*, as would have *laught heartily* to have heard themſelves cited as *Patrons* of the *Divine Right of Parity*: Particularly, Mr. *Willock*, who lived and died *Superintendent of Glaſgow*; Mr. *Pont*, who died *Biſhop* of *Cathnes*; Mr. *Row*, who was one of the *Three*, who ſtood for the *Lawfulneſs of Epiſcopacy*, when it was firſt called in queſtion, at the Aſſembly in *Auguſt* 1575; (*u*) Mr. *Craig*, whom *Calderwood* himſelf cenſures ſeverely for his forwardneſs to have the Brethren ſubſcrive, *That they ſhould give obedience to their Ordinary's*; and charges with making *bitter invectives* againſt the *ſincerer ſort*, as he calls the *Non-Subſcribers*. (*v*) I may add Mr. *Knox*, as ſhall be made appear, by and by. But I have taken but too much notice of *The Courſe of Conformity*, which is, truly, one of the weakeſt Pamphlets was ever ſeen in print: And if that part of it which is againſt *Epiſcopacy*, was written by Mr. *James Melvil*, as *Calderwood* affirms, (*x*) It is a Demonſtration, That whatever his *Zeal* was againſt *Prelacy*, it was not according to *much Knowledge*.

(*u*) Spot. 275. Cald. 69.

(*v*) Cald. 167. & 187.

(*x*) Cald. 536.

Mr. *Petrie* mentions only two of our Reformers, as *Divine Right-of-Parity-Men*: The *Earl* of *Murray*, who was *Regent*, and Mr. *Knox*: *Calderwood* inſiſts on *Knox*, but doth not mention *Murray*.

Petries Evidence about *Murray*, is, *That he hath read of him, that by his Letter, he did inform Queen* Elizabeth *of the Honor and Happineſs*

Pet. 366.

pineſs that would attend her Crown and State, upon the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſt's Government; And of the profitable Uſes whereunto the Rich Benefices of Biſhops might be applied. But 1. He tells not in what Author he read this; And none who knows Mr. *Petries Byaſs*, will think it unreaſonable to *require* ſome other thing to *rely* on, than his own *Bare Authority*. 2. If we ſhould *reſt* on his *Authority*, and allow that *Murray* wrote ſo, becauſe Mr. *Petrie* ſaid it, yet how will it follow, that his Lordſhip was for the *Divine Right* of *Parity*? Might not he have been againſt the Temporal Dignities, and the rich Benefices of the *Engliſh* Biſhops, without being againſt *Prelacy*? How many have been ſo? Indeed 3. There is all the Reaſon in the world to believe, That if *Murray* did write ſo to the *Engliſh Queen*, this was all he *aim'd* at: For, had he been for the *Divine Right* of *Parity*, would he ever have ſo much countenanced *Imparity* in the *Church* of *Scotland*? Was not he one of the *Subſcribers* of the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*? (*y*) wherein *Imparity* was ſo formally eſtabliſhed? Was not he *Regent* in *December* 1567? And did not he, then, give the *Royal Aſſent* to ſome Acts of Parliament, made clearly in *favour* of Imparity? Or did he extend the *Royal Aſſent* to theſe Acts in *Deſpight* of his *Conſcience*?

(*y*) Kn. 283. Spot. 175.

'Tis true, indeed, Time has been, when *ſome Men* have had ſuch *Ductile* Conſciences, that *pick't*, the one year, for not having ſo much

much favour at *Court*, as they thought they deſerved, they could boldly ſtand up in Parliaments againſt *iniquous Laws*, and tell their fellow Members, That *ſuch Laws* reflected on the *Juſtice* of the Nation, and what not? And yet, the next year, when the *Court* ſmiled on them, and gave them Preferments and Penſions to ſatisfy their Ambition, or their Avarice, they could retract all their former *Niceneſs*, ſo much, that if they had got the management of the *Royal Aſſent*, they would have made no ſcruple to have *Applied* it for the *Ratification*, *Approbation*, and *perpetual Confirmation* of the *ſame* Laws, in their whole *Heads*, *Articles* and *Clauſes*, which ſeemed, to themſelves, ſo *ſcandalous* and *wicked*: But the *Earl* of *Murray*, while *Regent*, had no ſuch temptations: I believe he had no ſuch *yielding* Conſcience; if he had, I don't think his Authority was much to be valued. Once more, I think 'tis very ſtrange that he ſhould have been for the *Divine Right* of *Parity*, and yet ſhould never have ſpoken ſo much *out*, conſidering his occaſions, except in his private Letters to Queen *Eliz.*

The only perſon now to be conſidered is *John Knox*: He was certainly a *prime* inſtrument in the Advancement of our Reformation: His Authority was great, and his Sentiments were very influential; And it is not to be denied, but it is of ſome weight in the preſent queſtion, to know what was his judgment. I ſhall therefore endeavour

to account for his principles a little more fully; and I ſhall do it by theſe ſteps. 1. I ſhall ſhew the inſufficiency of the arguments that are adduced, by our Brethren, to prove him Presbyterian. 2. I ſhall adduce the Arguments which incline me to think he was not.

The great Argument inſiſted on by the Author of the *Courſe of Conformity*, and Mr. *Petrie*, (a) is taken from a Letter of *Knox*'s, directed to the General Aſſembly, holden at *Stirling*, in *Auguſt* 1571. The words are theſe. *Unfaithful and Traitors to the Flocks ſhall ye be, before the Lord* Jeſus, *if that, with your conſent, directly or indirectly, ye ſuffer unworthy men to be thruſt in within the Miniſtry of the Kirk, under what pretence that ever it be: Remember the Judge before whom ye muſt make an Account, and reſiſt that* TYRANNY *as ye would avoid Hell-fire*: So the Author of the *Courſe of Conformity*, without the leaſt attempt to let the world ſee where the Argument lay. Mr. *Petrie* is indeed a little more diſcreet. He tells us where it lies: *John Knox in his Letter to the Aſſembly, by the word* Tyranny *meaneth* Epiſcopacy: So he, but without any fuller deduction. And is not this a Demonſtration, that *Knox* was Presbyterian? And yet, after all this, it is not poſſible to make more of the Letter, when it is narrowly conſider'd than, "That *Knox* deem'd it a pernicious "and Tyrannical thing, for any perſon or "perſons whatſoever to thruſt unworthy "men into the Miniſtery of the Church;

(a) *Courſe of Conform.* p. 32. Pet. 375.

"and

"and Miniſters who would make Conſci-
"ence of their Calling and Truſt, muſt
"reſiſt ſuch encroachments with all poſſible
"concern and courage. No man, I ſay,
"can make more of the Letter: And who
doubts but Mr. *Knox* was ſo far in the
right? But then, let any man who looks not
through *Mr. Petries* Spectacles, tell me
what this has to do with *Parity* or *Imparity*?

The next argument is inſiſted on both
by *Petrie* and *Calderwood*: (*b*) It is, that (*b*) Pet. 55.
Knox was at *St. Andrews*, in *Feb.* 157½, when Cald. 374.
"*Douglas* was advanced to that *See*; That
"he refuſed to *inaugurate* him; Nay that
"in the Audience of many then preſent,
"he denounced *Anathema* to the *Giver*, and
"*Anathema* to the *Receiver*; And if you ask
"*Calderwoods* Evidence for this, he tells
"you, He found it in *a certain Manuſcript*,
"than which what can be more Apode-
"ctick? To be ſhort, tho we had reaſon to
give credit to *Calderwood*, and his uncertain
Certain Manuſcript, and to believe that the
Matter of Fact is true, and that *Knox* ſaid
and did ſo; yet, by what conſequences will
it follow, that he was for the *Divine Right*
of *Parity*? To deal frankly, 'tis like enough
that *Knox* ſaid ſo, and 'tis very probable he
had reaſon to ſay ſo, in that inſtance: For at
that time dreadful Invaſions were made
upon the *Patrimony* of the *Church*; None
more *deep* in that *Iniquity* than the *Earl* of
Morton, then *Chancellor*; by whoſe influence
Douglas was preferred to that *Archbiſhoprick*:
And

And ſo 'tis like enough that *Knox*, who, all his life was ſingularly *Zealous* for the *Rights* of the *Church*, upon ſuſpicion, if not certain knowledge, of ſome *dirty Bargain* between *Merton* and *Douglas*, expreſſed ſuitable Reſentments. But that it was not from any perſwaſion he had of the *Unlawfulneſs* of *Prelacy* is clear, even from what *Calderwood* and *Petrie* themſelves have recorded, within a *pag.* or *two* (*c*) For both tell us, that when the next Aſſembly continued *Douglas* in the *Rectorate* of the *Univerſity* of *St. Andrews*, a *Station* he had been in before he was raiſed to the *Archbiſhoprick*; *John Knox Regrated that ſo many Offices were laid on one Old Man, which ſcarcely 20 of the beſt gifts were able to bear.* For (as *Petrie* adds) *He was now Archbiſhop, Rector of the Univerſity, and Provoſt of the New College of St. Andrews.* From this, I ſay, it is plain, That *Knox* did not reſent *Douglas* his advancement, from any opinion of the *Unlawfulneſs* of *Epiſcopacy*, for no ſuch word, ſo much as once mutter'd by him; but from a perſwaſion he had, that no one man was fit for ſuch a Multitude of Offices. And I ſhall readily grant, that *Knox* was not for *Large Dioceſſes* (ſuch as *St. Andrews* was then), as we ſhall learn by and by, tho I am afraid, little to the comfort of my Presbyterian Brethren. But I have not yet diſpatched the whole Argument; 'Tis ſaid, *He refuſed to inaugurate the Biſhop*: Be it ſo, but may not the grounds I have laid down already, make

(*c*) Cald. 57. Pet. 375.

make it reaſonable for him to have done ſo, tho he had no quarrel with *imparity*? What ane Argument is this, *John Knox, a Presbyter, refuſed to conſecrate a Biſhop*, Ergo *he was a Presbyterian*? This is upon the ſuppoſition, that *Calderwood* and Mr. *Petrie* have told us true Matter of Fact: And yet I muſt confeſs, I ſee not the probability of its being true, That *Knox* was deſired to *inaugurate* him: For how is it imaginable, that he would be deſired to perform that Office, when there was a *Biſhop* and a *Superintendent* at hand to do it, and who actually did it, as both Authors acknowledge? But that is not all.

There is another Argument inſiſted on by both Authors, (d) *viz.* That Mr. *John Ruther-foord, Provoſt of the Old College alledged, that Mr.* Knox's *repining proceeded from Male-Contentment*, And *Knox purged himſelf, next Sunday, ſaying I have refuſed a greater Biſhoprick, than ever it was, which I might have had with the favour of greater men than he hath his; I did and do Repine for Diſcharge of my Conſcience.* Now, what more is there in all this than, That *Knox* his Conſcience would not have allowed him to take a Biſhoprick, with ſo much prejudice to the Rights of the Church, for any mans *feud* or *favour*, as he ſuſpected *Douglas* had done in compliance with the *Earl* of *Morton*? Can the world ſee any thing here that lookt like the *Divine Right of Parity*? But

(d) Cald. 256. Pet. 375.

Calderwood

Calderwood has yet a more wonderful Argument (e) to prove Mr. *Knox* one of his party: *Mr. Beza*, forsooth, *being informed by Mr.* Knox, *as appeareth, of the Intention of the Court to introduce Bishops, wrote a Letter to him, wherein he told him, That as Bishops brought in the Papacy, so false Bishops, the Relicks of Popery, would bring in Epicurism to the world, and therefore prayed him, that Episcopacy might never be re-admitted into* Scorland, *&c. Petrie* indeed mentions the same Letter, but he had not the courage, it seems, to say, that it appeared to have been occasioned by a Letter of *Knox*'s to *Beza*, concerning the intentions of the Court to introduce Episcopacy. Indeed no such thing appeareth from any sentence, phrase, or syllable, in all Mr. *Beza*'s Letter: How it came to *appear* to Mr. *Calderwood*, whether by some *certain* or *uncertain Manuscript* I know not; but however it was, make the supposition, That *Knox* did write so to *Beza*, where is the consequence of the Argument? And if he wrote not (and 'tis impossible to make it appear from Mr. *Beza*'s Letter that he did) Why was *Calderwood* at such pains to give the world a citation out of *Beza*'s Letter against Episcopacy? was that a good proof that *Knox* was *Presbyterian*, that *Beza* sent him such a Letter? The truth is, if any thing can be collected from that Letter, concerning *Knox*'s sentiments, it seems rather, that he was for *Prelacy*. For *Beza* seems clearly to import, that *Knox* needed to be

(e) Cald. 77.

caution'd

caution'd against it: For thus he writes; *One thing I would have you, my dear* Knox, *and your Brethren to advert to, as being very obvious, it is, That as Biſhops brought forth the Papacy*, &c. But if *Knox* needed this Commonitory, I think 'tis no great Argument that he was *Presbyterian*, ſo much, at leaſt, as *Beza* would have had him. But to do Mr. *Calderwood* juſtice, he ſeems to have laid no great ſtreſs on this Argument, and ſo I leave it. So much for the Arguments inſiſted on to prove, that Mr. *Knox* was for *Parity*. I come now to the Arguments which incline me to think he was not.

Sed & iſtud, M. Knox, te cæteroſq; fratres velim meminiſſe, quod jam oculis pene ipſis obverſatur, ſicut Epiſcopi papatum pepererunt, &c. Beza Epiſt. 79. pag. 315.

When we are enquiring after ones ſentiments about a point in controverſie, It is not reaſonable to build much on far fetcht conſequences; or refine upon incidental ſayings, which may be, very frequently, the Reſults of Negligence or Inadvertency: It is not proper to faſten on indirect propoſitions, or ſnatch at this or that indeliberated phraſe or expreſſion, which might have dropt unwarily from his tongue or pen. Following ſuch meaſures, we may eaſily ſtrain mens words, beyond their meaning; and make them ſpeak Nonſenſe, or innumerable Contradictions when we have a mind for it. The ſolid meaſure is to weigh a mans deliberate and ſerious thoughts, if, any where, he has expreſt them; To conſider his Reaſonings, when he treated directly on the controverted Subjects, or any thing

thing that ſtands ſo nearly related to it, that one cannot readily diſcourſe the one, without reflecting on the other; To trace him through his life, if the controverted point is Relative to Practice, and try what was his Behaviour, when he had occaſion to declare his mind concerning the matter in queſtion. This, as I take it, is the *true Rule*. Now allowing this *Rule* to take place, I am very much miſtaken if *Knox* ſhall be found to have been for the *Divine Inſtitution of Parity*, and the *Unlawfulneſs* of *Prelacy*.

Had he been ſo perſwaded, how ſeaſonable had it been for him to have *ſpoken out* ſo much, when he was brought before King *Edwards* Council? (*f*) The queſtion was then put to him, *Whether he thought that no Chriſtian might ſerve in the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtration, according to the Rites and Laws of the Realm of* England? Here was a proper opportunity for him to have declared himſelf againſt *Prelacy*, if he had been really againſt it. How natural had it been for a *ſincere Parity man*, on that occaſion, to have told that *Conncil*, That no Chriſtian could, then, ſerve with a ſafe Conſcience, as a Paſtor of the Church of *England*, becauſe according to the Laws of that Realm, he behoved to ſerve as a Member of ane *Unlawful Hierarchy*? yet he anſwered nothing, but that *No Miniſter in* England *had Authority to ſeparate the Lepers from the whole, which was a Chief Part of his Office*: Plainly founding all the

(*f*) *Life of* Knox. Cald. p. 3.

the *Unlawfulneſs* of being a *Paſtor* of the Church of *England*, not on the *Unlawfulneſs* of the *Hierarchy*, which he ſpoke not one word about, but on the *Kings Retaining*, in his own hands, the *Chief Power* of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, as, it is known, he did. (g) Knoxs *Life*. Kn. Hiſt. 102. Heyl. Hiſt: Ref. Burn. hiſt. Ref. Cald. 3. Calv. Ep. Still. *Unreaſonableneſs of Separation.* part 1. Sect. 3.

When was it more opportune for him to have expreſſed theſe ſentiments, if he had had them, than when he was at *Frankfort*? Yet not one word of the *Divine Right of Parity*, or the *Unlawfulneſs of Prelacy* in all theſe controverſies (g) He was *warm* enough then, and *eager* enough, to have found faults in the *Engliſh* Conſtitution; yet he never charged her with the *horrid guilt* of *Prelacy*: Not ſo much as one word of *that* in any Account I have ſeen of theſe Troubles.

How ſuitable had it been for him to have declared himſelf in this matter, in his *Appellation from the cruel, and moſt unjuſt ſentence, pronounced againſt him, by the falſe Biſhops and Clergy of* Scotland; as he calls them, publiſhed by himſelf *Anno* 1558? yet, in all that *Appellation*, not one *ſyllable* to this purpoſe: On the contrary, he plainly *ſuppoſes* the *Lawfulneſs* of the *Epiſcopal Office*, all alongſt, throughout it: He appeals to a *Lawful* General *Council*; (h) *Such a Council, as the moſt Ancient Laws and Canons do approve*: And who knows not that the moſt Ancient Laws and Canons made Biſhops the *Chief*, if not the *only* Members of ſuch *Councils*? He ſays (i) if the Popiſh Clergy, his Adverſaries, (h) pag. 2. (i) pag. 31.

verſaries, are for it, *He is content that Matters in Controverſie between him and them, be determined by the Teſtimonies and Authorities of Doctors and Councils.* Three things being granted him, whereof theſe are two, 1. *That the moſt Ancient Councils, neareſt to the Primitive Church, in which the Learned and Godly Fathers examined all matters by Gods word, may be holden of moſt Authority.* 2. *That no Determinations of Councils, nor Men, be admitted againſt the plain verity of Gods word, nor againſt the Determinations of the four chief Councils.* Would *he*, if he had been *Presbyterian*, have agreed ſo frankly to have ſtood by the Determination of theſe 4 *Chief Councils*? Could he have expected, they would have favoured the *Divine Right* of *Presbyterian Parity*? Will any *Scottiſh Presbyterian*, now adays, ſtand to the *Deciſion* of theſe 4 *Councils*? Farther, In that ſame *Appellation*, (*k*) he requires of the Nobility, that *the Biſhops be compelled to make anſwer for the neglecting their Office*; which plainly *ſuppoſes* the *Lawfulneſs* of the *Office*, and charges *Guilt* only on the *Officers*.

When had it been more ſeaſonable, than in his *Admonition to the Commonalty of* Scotland, publiſhed alſo *Anno* 1558? His great deſign, in it, was to excite them to a Reformation, by loading the *Papiſtical Clergy* with every thing that was *abominable*: Yet not a *Syllable* of it here, neither; nothing but a farther and a clearer *Suppoſition* of the *Lawfulneſs* of *Prelacy*. *You may* (ſays he (*l*) in

(*k*) p. 40.

in a peaceable manner, without Sedition, withhold the fruits and profits, which your falſe Biſhops and Clergy, moſt unjuſtly receive of you, until ſuch time, as they ſhall faithfully do their Charge and Duties, which is, To preach unto you Chriſt Jeſus *truly; Rightly to miniſter the Sacraments, according to his Inſtitution; And ſo to watch for your Souls as is commanded by* Chriſt, *&c.* If this *ſuppoſes* not the *Innocency* of the Epiſcopal *Office* in it ſelf, I know not what can.

Had he been for the *Divine Right* of *Parity*, how *unfaithful* had he been in his *Faithful Admonition to the true Profeſſors of the Goſpel of Chriſt within the Kingdom of England*, written *Anno* 1554? His great work there, was to ennumerate the *Cauſes*, which, in Gods righteous judgment, brought Queen *Mary*'s Perſecution on them. But he quite forgot to name the *Sin* of *Prelacy*, as one. Aſſuredly he had not done ſo, had he been of the ſame ſentiments with our Famous *General Aſſembly* 1690. (*l*) How *unfaithfully* was it done of him, I ſay, thus to *conceal* one of the moſt *Crimſon Guilts* of the *Nation*? But this is not the worſt of it: In that ſame *Admonition* he has a moſt *ſcandalous* Expreſſion; ſure he was not then ſufficiently *purg'd* of *Popiſh Corruption*. *God gave* (ſays he) *ſuch ſtrength to that REVEREND FATHER IN GOD*, Thomas Cranmer, *to cut the Knots of Deviliſh Sophiſtry*, &c. (*m*) To call an *Archbiſhop* a *Reverend Father in God*, what was it elſe, but *the plain Language of the*

(*l*) See Act for a National Faſt.

(*m*) p. 51.

Beaſt? How *Rankly* did it *ſmell* of the *Whore*?

How ſeaſonable had it been, in his *Letter* to the *Queen Regent* of *Scotland*, written, *Anno* 1556, and publiſhed by himſelf, with *adaitions*, *Anno* 1558? He talked very freely about the Popiſh Biſhops in it; but never a *Tittle* of the *Unlawfulneſs* of the *Office*. It is plain from that Letter he never dream'd of the *Doughty* Argument, ſo much inſiſted on, ſince, againſt *Prelacy*, viz. *That it is a Branch of Popery, and Biſhops are Limbs of Antichriſt*. For having ſtated it as one of the *Popiſh* Arguments, (*n*) *That their Religion was ancient, and it was not poſſible, that that Religion could be falſe, which ſo long time, ſo many Councils, and ſo great a Multitude of Men had authorized and confirmed*; He gives his anſwer thus: *If Antiquity of time ſhall be conſidered in ſuch Caſes, Then ſhall not only the Idolatry of the* Gentiles, *but alſo the Falſe Religion of* Mahomet *be preferred to the Papiſtry; For both the* one, *and the* other, *is more ancient than is the Papiſtical Religion; Yea* Mahomet *had Eſtabliſhed his* Acoran *before any* Pope *of* Rome *was crowned with a Triple Crown*, &c. Can any man think, *John Knox* was ſo very unlearned as to imagine, that *Epiſcopacy* was not much *older* than *Mahomet*? or knowing it to be *older*, that yet he could have been ſo *Ridiculous*, as to have thought it a *Relict* of *Popery*, which *he* himſelf affirmed to be *younger* than *Mahometiſm*? whoſo pleaſes may ſee more of his ſentiment about the *Novelty* of

(*n*) p. 90.

of *Popery* in his conference with Queen *Mary*, recorded in his Hiſtory *(o)*. One other Teſtimony to this purpoſe I cannot forbear to tranſcribe; All that know any thing of the Hiſtory of our Reformation, muſt be preſum'd to know, That *Superintendency* was Erected by Mr. *Knox*'s his ſpecial advice and counſel. That it was in its very *height*, *Anno* 1566, is as indubitable: Now, we are told that *Knox* wrote the 4*th Book* of his *Hiſtory*, that year. Hear him, therefore, in his Introduction to it. *(p) We can ſpeak the Truth, whomſoever we offend; There is no Realm that hath the Sacraments in like Purity: For all others, how ſincere that ever the Doctrine be, that by ſome is taught, Retain in their Churches, and in the Miniſters thereof, ſome Footſteps of Antichriſt and Dregs of Popery. But we (all Praiſe to God alone) have Nothing within our Churches that ever flowed from that Man of Sin.* Let any man judge, now if Mr. *Knox* lookt upon *imparity* as a *Dreg* of *Popery*.

(o) Kn. 318.

(p) Kn. 308. Cald. 401.

Thus we have found *Knox*, when he had the faireſt occaſions, the ſtrongeſt temptations, the moſt awakening calls, when it was moſt ſeaſonable for him, to have declared for the *Divine Right* of *Parity*, and the *Unlawfulneſs* of *Prelacy*, ſtill ſilent in the matter; or rather, on all occaſions, proceeding on *ſuppoſitions*, and reaſoning from *principles* fairly allowing the Lawfulneſs of Prelacy. But is there no more to be ſaid? Yes. More with a witneſs.

In his *Exhortation to* England *for the ſpeedy Embracing of Chriſts Goſpel*, dated from *Geneva, January* 12, *Ann.* 1559. Amongſt many other *Reformations*, He is for *Reforming* their *Biſhopricks* indeed: But how? By *aboliſhing* them? Nothing like it: How then? Take it in his own words, (q) *Let no man be charged in preaching of Chriſt Jeſus above that a man may do: I mean, That your Biſhopricks be ſo Divided, that of every one (as they are now for the moſt part) may be made ten: And ſo in every City and Great Town there may be placed, a Godly Learned Man, with ſo many joined with him, for preaching and inſtruction, as ſhall be thought ſufficient for the Bounds committed to their Charge.* So he: And let our *Parity-men*, if they can, give this Teſtimony a *Gloſs favourable* to their *ſide* of the *Queſtion*, without deſtroying the *text*: The Truth is, this Teſtimony is ſo very *nicking*, that I am apt to apprehend, it might have been for its ſake, That this whole *Tractate* was left out of the *Folio-Edition* of *Knox*'s Works, printed at *London*, *Anno* 1641. However, the *Inquiſition*, it ſeems, has not been ſo *ſtrict* at *Edenburgh*; for, there it eſcap'd the *Index Expurgatorius*. And yet tho it had not, *the Good Cauſe* had not been one whit the Securer. For *Knox*'s practice would have ſufficiently determined the matter: For,

(q) p 110.

Did not *he* compile the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*? (r) And is not *Imparity* fairly Eſtabliſhed there? Did not he *write* and *bear* the Letter ſent by the *Superintendents*, *Miniſters* and

(r) Spot. 174.

and Commiſſioners of the Church within the Realm of Scotland, *to their Brethren, the Biſhops and Paſtors in* England, Anno 1566? Did not he, in that *ſame Title* of that *ſame Letter* acknowledge, that theſe *Brethren, Biſhops and Paſtors of* England *had renounced the Roman Antichriſt, and profeſſed the Lord Jeſus in ſincerity?* And doth not the Letter all alongſt *allow* of the *Epiſcopal Power* and Authority of theſe *Engliſh Biſhops?* Did not he publickly and ſolemnly *admit Mr. John Spotſwood* to the *Superintendency* of *Lothian*, *Anno* 1561? (*t*) Did not he *Concur*, at the *Coronation* of *King James the Sixth*, with a *Biſhop* and *two Superintendents*, *Anno* 1567? (*w*) Was not he, ſome time, a *Commiſſioner for Viſitation*, as they were *then* called, *i. e.* a *Temporary Biſhop?* And did not he, then, Act in a *Degree* of *Superiority* above the *Reſt* of his *Brethren*, within the bounds of his Commiſſion? Did not he ſit, and vote, and concur in many General Aſſemblies, where Acts were made for performing *Canonical Obedience* to *Superintendents?* In fine, doth not *Spotſwood* tell us (*v*) *That he was far from the Dotages, wherein ſome, that would have been thought his followers, did afterwards fall? That never man was more obedient to Church Authority than he? That he was always urging the Obedience of Miniſters to their Superintendents; for which he cauſed diverſe Acts to be made in the Aſſemblies of the Church?* And, *That he ſhewed himſelf ſevere to the Tranſgreſſors?*

Spot. 198. Per. 342. Cald. 41. Kn. 445.

(*t*) Kn. 289. Old Liturgy.

(*w*) Spot. 211.

(*v*) Spot. 266.

I have inſiſted the longer on this inſtance of *Knox*, becauſe he made a *Singular Figure* amongſt our Reformers. Beſides, having ſo fully evinced that he (whom our Brethren value ſo much) was no *Divine-Right-of-Parity Man*; I think it may readily paſs for *credible*, that neither were any of the reſt of our Reformers of that opinion. And now, to bring home all this to my main purpoſe, if not ſo much as *one* of our Reformers, no not *Knox* himſelf, was for the *Divine Right* of *Parity*, I think it may amount to an undeniable evidence, at leaſt, to a ſtrong *Preſumption*, That they were not of the preſent Presbyterian Principles, and all this will appear ſtill farther unqueſtionable, when it is conſidered in the

IV. place, How much reaſon there is to believe, That our Reformers proceeded generally on the ſame principles with the Reformers of *England*; where the Government of the Church, by *imparity*, was continued, without the leaſt oppoſition.

This is a Conſideration, which, I am afraid, may not reliſh well with the *Inclinations* of my Presbyterian Brethren; yet, withal, may be of conſiderable weight with unprejudiced people; and bring light to ſeveral things about our Reformation, which, even thoſe who have read our Hiſtories and Monuments, may have paſſed over, inadvertently; And therefore I ſhall take leave to inſiſt upon it ſomewhat fully: And I ſhall proceed by theſe ſteps.

I. I

1. I ſhall endeavour to repreſent how, our Reformation, under God, was principally Cheriſhed and Encouraged by *Engliſh influences.*

2. I ſhall endeavour to repreſent how, in Correſpondence to theſe *Influences*, our Reformers were generally of the ſame mind, with the Church of *England*, in ſeveral momentous inſtances relating to Conſtitution and Communion, the Government and Polity of the Church, wherein our *preſent Presbyterian Principles* ſtand in direct oppoſition and contradiction to her. If I can make theſe two things appear, I think, I ſhall make a Conſiderable Advance towards the Determination of the Second Enquiry.

1. I ſay, our Reformation, under God, was *Cheriſhed* and *Encouraged*, principally, by *Engliſh influences.* That *Scotland*, barring foreign influences, is Naturally diſpos'd for receiving *Engliſh* impreſſions, cannot but be obvious to common ſenſe. We not only live in the ſame Iſland, ſeparated from all other Neighbourhood; we not only breath the ſame air, and ſpeak the ſame language, and obſerve the ſame cuſtoms, and have all the opportunities of Reciprocating all the Offices, which can reſult from daily Commerces, and familiar acquaintances, and eaſy Correſpondences, and Matrimonial Conjunctions, and innumerable other ſuch Endearing Relations, and Allectives to Mutual Kindneſs; but alſo,

Scotland is the leſſer, *England* the larger; *Scotland* the more barren, *England* the more fertile; *Scotland* the poorer, *England* the richer; *Scotland* the more penurious of people, *England* the more populous; *Scotland* every way the weaker, *England* every way the ſtronger Kingdom; and, by conſequence, *Scotland* every way the more apt to receive, and *England* every way the more apt to give impreſſions. And Nature, in this, is fully juſtified by Experience: For what *Scottiſh* man knows not, that, when the late Revolution was a carrying on, as *England* caſt the Copy to *Scotland*, ſo it was uſed and preſt, as one of the moſt popular and influential Topicks to perſwade the *Scots* to follow the Copy, That *England* had done it; and why ſhould *Scotland* follow a ſeparate Courſe? Was not *England* a powerful and a wiſe Nation? what Defence could *Scotland* make for it ſelf, if *England* ſhould invade it? And how was it to be imagined, that *England* would not invade *Scotland*, if *Scotland* did not follow *England*'s Meaſures? So that, to ſtand by K. *J.* when *England* had rejected him, what was it elſe, than to expoſe the Nation to unavoidable Ruine? Who knows not, I ſay, that this was one of the moſt preſt, becauſe one of the moſt plauſible Arguments, in the beginning of the late Revolution? And who ſees not that the Force of the Argument lay in *Scotland*'s obnoxiouſneſs to *England*'s impreſſions? Let no true hearted *Scottiſh man* imagine,

imagine, 'Tis in my thought, to diſhonour my Native Country: I have ſaid no more than all the world knows to be true, and what cannot be denied. If we could contend with them for Virtue, and Integrity; for Honour and Gallantry; for Civility and Loyalty; for *Glories* that are truely *manly*; 'Twere for the Credit of our Nation; And it were our own fault if we were inferiour to them, in ſuch Competitions: But 'tis *Arrant Vanity* to contend with them for *Wealth*, or *Strength*, or *Multitude*. Now, to bring this home to my purpoſe.

God had ſo ordered, in his wiſe Providence, that, for many Ages before, *Scotland* had not been ſo free of foreign influence, as a little before, and all the time, our Church was a reforming: The *French* were the only foreign Influences which were wont to find Entertainment in *Scotland*: And, in thoſe times, the *French* had treated us very baſely and diſhonourably. I ſhall deduce the matter with all convenient brevity.

King *Henry the Eighth* of *England* had reſolved upon a War with *France*, *Anno* 1512. The *French* King perceiving this, applyed to *James the Fourth* of *Scotland*, his old Confederate, to engage him in ane Alliance againſt *Henry*. His Application was ſucceſsful: a private League was made betwixt them in *November* that year. (a) Two of the Articles were, That *if* England *ſhould invade* Scotland, France *ſhould wage War with all its might, againſt* England; Scotland *ſhould*

(a) Leſl. 343. Herb. 27.

ſhould do the like, if England *invaded* France. *And neither of the two ſhould take Truce with* England, *without the other gave his Conſent, and were comprehended therein, if he pleaſed.*

In purſuance of this League, *James* raiſed a potent Army, invaded *England*, incurred the *Popes* Diſpleaſure, to the very Sentence of Excommunication, *(b)* fought the fatal Battle of *Flowdon*, *Sept.* 9. 1513, *(c)* Loſt his Life, and the Flower of all the *Scottiſh* Nobility and Gentry, and left behind him, *James the Fifth*, ane Infant, expoſed, with his whole State, to the not very tender Mercies of King *Henry*. Here was ſerving the *French* intereſts with a witneſs. Well!

(b) Herb. 29.
(c) Leſl. 349.
Herb. 44.

How did *Lewis* requite this? The next year, he patcht up a Peace with *Henry*, without comprehending *Scotland*, without Reſpect to his Faith and Promiſe, without Pity to thoſe who were reduced to ſuch Extremities on his account: If this was not, what can be called, *Diſobliging*? But this was not all.

Pax pacta eſt, quæ res non tantam tranquillitatem Regno *Galliæ* peperit, quantam Regi Notam inuſſit, quod, in illa percutienda, *Scotorum*, qui illius Cauſa, *Anglis*, Bellum intulerunt, nulla omnino facta fuerit mentio. Leſl. 355.

The *Scots*, reduced to theſe difficulties, and ſenſible, that it was not poſſible for the Nation to ſubſiſt, under ane infant King, without a *Regent*, became humble Suppliants to the *French* King, that he would ſend them *John Duke of Albany*, then in the *French* Service; a Man of great Abilities, and next by Blood to the *Scottiſh* Crown, that he

he might be their Governour, during their Kings Minority; But *Henry*'s Threats, for a long time, prevailed more with the *French* King (*d*) than *Scotlands* Neceſſities, or his Obligations to it; For *Albany* came not to *Scotland*, till *May* 1515. (*e*) ſo that, for near two years, thro the *French* Coldneſs and Indifferency towards *Scottiſh* affairs, the Kingdom had no ſetled Government.

(*d*) Herb. 50.

(*e*) Buch. 488.

The War brake out again betwixt *France* and *England*, *Anno* . . . . . and a new Peace was concluded *Anno* 1518. And *Albany* our *Scottiſh* Regent was preſent, in perſon, when it was concluded; but the *Engliſh* Obſtinacy, not to comprehend *Scotland*, was more effectual with *Francis the Firſt* (who had then got upon the Throne) than all the Interceſſions of *Albany*, or the Merits of our Nation. (*f*) Nay, if we may believe *Herbert*, It was one of the main Articles of that Treaty, that *Albany* ſhould not return to *Scotland*; (*g*) Nor did he return, till *Octob.* 1521. (*h*) And returning then, *Henry* reckoned it a *Main Breach of Treaty*, nay and *plain Perjury* in *Francis*, that he gave way to it. (*i*) Thus were we treated, *then*, by *France*.

(*f*) Leſl. 372.

(*g*) Herb. 122.

(*h*) Buch. 496.

(*i*) Herb. ibid.

Let us now conſider, if *Henry* was at any pains, all this while, to make ane Intereſt in *Scotland*. And if we may believe the unanimous voice of our own Hiſtorians, or my Lord *Herbert* in the Hiſtory of his Life, (*k*) never was man more earneſt for any thing, than he, in that purſuit, and he had brave occaſions for it: For not only were

(*k*) Herb. 49, 59, 60, 65, 99. paſſim.

were the *Scots* highly (and juſtly) irritated by the degenerous and undervaluing ſlights *France* had put upon them, (as I have juſt now made appear) But *Henry* had ſurprized them with ane Unexpected and Unaccuſtomed Generoſity, after the Battel of *Flowdon*. He had not purſued his Victory, but had liſtned gently to their Addreſſes for Peace; and told them that tho he might, yet he would not, take advantage of their circumſtances: He would treat them frankly; if they were for Peace, ſo was he, if for War, they ſhould have it. A Reſponſe ſo full of true Honour and Gallantry, as could not but work on their affections. Beſides,

Henricus, animo magno & vere Regio, reſpondit, ſibi cum Scotis pacatis, pacem, cum bellantibus, bellum fore. Buch. 485.

His Siſter *Margaret*, the *Queen* of *Scots*, a Lady of rare Endowments, was all alongſt working to his hand, and making a Party for him. *James the 4th* by his Teſtament, before he went to *Flowdon*, had nominated *her*, *Governeſs* of the Realm, during her Widowhood. This gave her once the principal hand in affairs. 'Tis true, ſhe was young and *lively*, and married within a year after the King's Death, and ſo loſt her Title to the Regency. But then ſhe married the *Earl* of *Angus*, the choice of all the *Scottiſh* Nobility, and one who was in great Repute with all Ranks of People,(*l*) ſo that, however her Marriage annulled her Title, it did not ſo much weaken her Intereſt, but that

(*l*) Buch. 484, 489.

that ſhe had ſtill a great Party in the Nation; So great, That tho *Albany* was advanced to the *Regency*, ſhe was for the moſt part able to over-ballance him in point of *power* and *following*. In ſhort

Such was *Henry*'s and his Siſters influence, That all the time *Albany* was Regent, the Nation was divided into *two Factions*; The one *French*, headed by *Albany*; the other *Engliſh* headed by the *Queen Dowager*; and hers was generally the more prevalent; ſo much, that tho *Albany* was perhaps one of the braveſt Gentlemen that ever was honoured with the *Scottiſh Regency*, he was never able to proſecute, to purpoſe, any project, he undertook, for the *French* Service. Thus,

Anno 1522. He raiſed ane Army to invade *England*; But with what ſucceſs? Why? The *Scottiſh* Nobility waited upon him to the *Border* indeed, but they would go no further. They told him plainly, they would hazard lives and fortunes in defence of their Country; but it was another thing to invade *England*.(*m*) And *Leſly* plainly attributes all this Refractorineſs in theſe Nobles to the *Queens* influence. Nay, 'tis evident from the ſame *Leſly*, that the Baſeneſs and Ingratitude of the *French* in the forementioned Treaties, was one of the principal Arguments that moved them to

(*m*) Buch. 487. Leſl. 386.

Regina etſi abſens, hujus tamen conſilii Nobilibus auctor fuit. Leſl. 386. Albanius cum intellexerat Scotos Nobiles a bello gerendo abhorrere, quod non Reip. ſuæ utilitate ſed Regis Franci voluntate, tanquam ſuſceptum illud putaverint, in Franciam rranſmittit, &c. Leſl. 387.

ſuch

ſuch Backwardneſs: And *Albany* was ſenſible of it, and therefore went to *France*, and told the *French* King ſo much, and asked a ſwinging Army of *Frenchmen*, five thouſand Horſe, and ten thouſand Foot: with ſuch a force, he promiſed to *Act* ſomething againſt *England*; but from the *Scots*, by themſelves, nothing was to be expected.

And this his abſence was a new opportunity to *Henry* to play his Game in *Scotland*. Indeed he neglected it not; he uſed all arts imaginable, further, to advance his *own*, and weaken the *French* intereſt; he haraſſed the Borders, without intermiſſion, that, in the Miſeries and Deſolations of War, the *Scots* might ſee the Beauties and Felicities of Peace, on the one hand; reſolving, as it were, to *Cudgel* them into ane *Accord*, if no other thing could do it: And on the other hand, he had his Emiſſaries and Inſtruments buſie at work, in the Heart of the Kingdom, and about the Helm of Affairs, imploying all their Skill and Intereſt, all their Wit and Rhetorick, all their Eloquence and Diligence, to perſwade the Nation to a perpetual Amity with *England*, the Queen being the Chief Actrix. Neither did this ſeem ſufficient; He ſent Ambaſſadors, and wrote Letters, and repreſented things in their faireſt

Hoſtis autem Conſilium eo ſpectabat ut feroces Scotorum animos, malis fractos ad paciſcendum ſecum cogeret. Buch. 499.

Nec Segnius etiam Scoti, factionis Gallis adverſæ laborabant ut perpetuum cum Anglo fœdus iniretur, Regina Principe. Buch. ibid.

faireſt Colours, and made moſt charming Overtures, *&c.* If they would break the League with *France*, and enter into one with *England*, the world ſhould ſee, and they ſhould find by Experience, that it was not Humour, or Ambition, or Love of Greatneſs, that had moved him to treat them ſo, but Love of Concord, and Concern for the Proſperity and Happineſs of the Nation; That he had but one only Child, a Daughter, *Mary*; Her he would give to *James* in Marriage; hereby the *Engliſh* would become ſubject to the *Scottiſh*, not the *Scottiſh* to the *Engliſh* Government; and a great deal more to this purpoſe. Whoſo pleaſes may ſee this whole matter tranſcribed by *Herbert* (*n*) from *Buchanan*. I go on.

Si Scoti in animum inducerent, Soluto cum Gallis fœdere, &c. Buch: ib.

(*n*) Herb. 148, 149.

The *French* King was not at leiſure, it ſeems, to afford *Albany* ſuch aſſiſtances as he required; ſo he was obliged to return without them. And returning, found the *French* intereſt ſtill weaker and weaker, and the *Engliſh* ſtronger and ſtronger, as appears from his Succeſs. For,

Having return'd to *Scotland* in *September* 1523, (*o*) He inſtantly gave out his Orders, That the whole force of the Kingdom ſhould meet in *Douglas-dale*, againſt the middle of *October*. He found Obedience ſo far, indeed, that they met; but when he had marched them to *Tweed*, and they found, he deſign'd to invade *England*, they would

(*o*) Buch: 499.

would not move one foot further, but ſounded, aloud, their old *Carol.* "They "knew by experience what was to be gain'd "by invading *England:* It was enough for "for them that they were willing to defend "their own Country, *&c.* (*p*)

(*p*) Buch. 501.

Here they *ſtood*, I mean, as to their *Reſolutions*, not, their *Ground*; for they left that, and inſtantly return'd within their own Borders; ſo haſtily, and with ſuch ſtrong inclinations, it ſeems, to be at home, That, with great difficulty, he got them kept together, ſome days, till he ſhould fall on ſome pretext, which might give a fair colour to his *Retreat*, and cover it from appearing, downright, diſhonourable. 'Tis true his luck was ſo good that he found it: But how? By the Art and Intereſt of the *Engliſh Faction.* (*q*) Thus,

(*q*) Leſl. 390, 391. Tuſe.

Queen *Margaret*, to wait her opportunities, had come to the Border, and lodged not far from the *Scottiſh* Camp. The *Earl* of *Surry* commanded the *Engliſh* Army, with whom ſhe kept ſecret Correſpondence; and it was concerted betwixt them, it ſeems, that the *Engliſh* ſhould by all means avoid *Fighting*, and ſhe ſhould be imployed as a *Mediatreſs* to bring matters to ſome honeſt accommodation. The Plot ſucceeded; a *Truce* was readily patcht up, to the ſatisfaction, no doubt, of both Parties. *Albany* had reaſon to be glad of it, for, he could make no better of the Bargain; and 'twas with much difficulty he brought his Expedition

dition to ſo honourable ane *iſſue*. And 'tis plain, the *Engliſh Faction* had reaſon to be as glad, for they had gained two points: They had got *Albany* to underſtand the temper of the Nation, and the weakneſs of the *French intereſt*: And they had treated the *Scots*, who were ſo averſe from Fighting, ſo diſcreetly, by ſhunning all occaſions of Engaging, and thereby ſhewing that they were no Enemies to the *Scots*, unleſs it was on the *French account*, that they could not have fallen on a more ſucceſsful politick for Gaining King *Henry*'s great purpoſe, which was, To diſengage the *Scots* of the *French*, as much as he could: And the Succeſs was agreeable. For,

After that, *Albany*'s Authority, and the *French* intereſts, decayed ſo ſenſibly, and the *Engliſh Faction* manag'd their deſigns, ſo ſucceſsfully, that, within a few months, *Albany* was turn'd out of his *Regency*; and the *young King* (then but twelve years of age) was perſwaded to take in his own hands, the Government. It was the *Engliſh Faction*, I ſay, that wrought this *Revolution*, as is evident from the whole thred of the Hiſtory: And *Leſly* (*r*) tells us plainly, that *Albany* was ſenſible of it, and was perſwaded, it was in vain to endeavour any more, to gain them to the *French ſide*, and therefore he took his leave and departed the Coun-

(*r*) Leſl. 393. Hinc intellexit Gubernator ſe apud quoſdam Nobiles non eſſe gratioſum, qui Regis pueri imperitiam, ſuo excuſſo imperio, volebant ſubire, atque nullum bellum (quod, *Franci* cauſa, acriter urgebat *Albanius*) cum *Anglis* juſtum eſſe putabant, Leſl. 393.

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try. This was in the year 1524.

The King, ſo young, all know, was not able to manage the Government by himſelf; but ſtood in need of Counſellors; They were *Engliſh* who had got him thus *Early* to aſſume the Government in his own perſon: 'Tis obvious to collect, therefore, they were *Engliſh enough*, who were his Counſellors. And ſuch they were indeed, For, as *Leſly* has it, a Parliament was indicted to meet in *February* thereafter, wherein, a *Council* was nominated for aſſiſting the *King* in the Adminiſtration of the Government, but ſo as that the *Queen* was to have the *Sovereignty*, ſo far as nothing was to be done without her ſpecial approbation and allowance.

Ita tamen ne quid horum Conſilio omnino ſtatueret vel antiquaret Rex, quod Regina tanquam Regni Princeps, antea, ſua authoritate non fixerit aut refixerit. Leſl. 397.

Albany, the great Oppoſer of his intereſts in *Scotland*, thus diſpatched, King *Henry*'s whole Soul was divided betwixt Gladneſs and Kindneſs: He was *Glad*, almoſt to exceſs, that he had got rid of ſuch ane *eye-ſore*. (s) He was *kind* to the higheſt degree, to his Siſter, and Nephew, and the *Scottiſh* Nobility: He diſpatched two Ambaſſadors, with all Expedition, for *Scotland*, by whom he offered to eſtabliſh a Laſting Peace; and in the *interim*, agreed to a *Truce* for a year, till a *fond* for a ſolid ſettlement might be maturely conſidered. (t) On the other hand

(s) Incredibili quadam lætitia elatus. Leſl. 394.

(t) Leſl. ibid.

Our

Our *Queen* (without doubt, with her Brothers fore-knowledg and allowance) having now the Reins in her hands, ſends three Ambaſſadors to *England*; The Earl of *Caſſils*, the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, and the Abbot of *Cambuskeneth*, to propoſe to *Henry*, in the name of the *Scottiſh* Nation, that there might be a firm and perpetual Amity eſtabliſht betwixt the two Crowns; and, to this great End, that a *Match* might be agreed to, betwixt *James* and *Mary*. *Henry* entertain'd the propoſition with all imaginable ſhews of Satisfaction, but demanded two things, *That the* Scots *might break the League with* France, *and make one of that ſame Nature with* England; And, *That* James *might be educated in* England, *till ripe for Marriage*. But the *Scottiſh* Ambaſſadors were not *Plenipotentiaries* enough for adjuſting theſe Matters: *Caſſils* therefore comes home; a New Meeting of the States is called; and *Caſſils* is return'd to *England*, with Commiſſion to tell *Henry*, *That the* Scottiſh *Lords are content to Relinquiſh the* French, *on Condition the Match with the Princeſs* Mary *were ſecured*. (*u*) 'Tis true, nothing followed upon this Treaty but a Truce for three years; for what reaſon I know not. But from the Deduction I have briefly made, it may ſufficiently appear how weak the *French*, and how ſtrong the *Engliſh* intereſt was then in *Scotland*; ſo very ſtrong, as, clearly, to overcome, and, almoſt, quite extirpate the other.

(*u*) See for all this Leſl. 394, 395; Herb. 163.

Well! did *Francis* nothing to recover the *Scottish* amity? Alas! at that time, he had greater matters to imploy his thoughts. He loſt his Liberty at the Battel of *Pavia*, *Anno* 1525, and became the King of *Spain*'s Priſoner; and was not Reſtored to his Freedom, till *Henry* interpoſed with a powerful Mediation: For which, He entered into another League with *Henry* 1527, without minding the *Scots*, or being concern'd for their ſecurity. This was a third ſlight put upon the *Scots* by the *French*, in their Treaties with *England*. 'Tis true indeed, *Francis* did not enter into this League with *Henry*, over-awed by his Threats, but conſtrain'd by his Kindneſs and Good Offices, in his Liberation from his *Spaniſh* Captivity: But it was all one to the *Scots*, for what reaſon it was, if they were *Deſerted*. 'Tis true indeed,

Gallus ſtudio, maxime & diligentia *Angli*, in libertatem, ex *Hiſpanorum* manibus reſtitutus, fœdus adeo amplum cum iis fecit ut multum *Scotico* fœderi derogaretur. *Buch.* 519.

When *James* came to full age, he had ſtrong inclinations for renewing the *Old Amity* with *France*; and no wonder, conſidering how much he was manag'd by the *Clergy*, who abhorred *Henry*, for ſhaking off the *Popes* Authority; and thought themſelves concern'd, with all their Might, to guard againſt *Henry*'s contagious influences, as they deem'd them. But however the *King* and *Clergy* were inclined, 'tis evident, the Body of the Nation continued conſtant in their ſo frequently provoked Coldneſs to the

the *French* intereſts; and in their good Affection towards *England*, ſo much, that they would never thereafter, (at leaſt all the time our Reformation was a carrying on) follow either *King* or *Regent* to invade *England*. Thus,

When *James the Fifth*, *Anno* 1542. was very earneſt for it, the Nobility generally declined it; and he was forced to diſmiſs them: And when, ſhortly after that, his Earneſtneſs that way, it ſeems, increaſing, he ordered ane Army to meet at *Carlaverock*, intending therewith to enter *England*; ſo ſoon as *Oliver Sinclare* was declared *Chief Commander*, and the Kings intentions were made known, all threw away their Arms, and ſuffered themſelves to be taken Priſoners. (*v*) And

Rex mirum in modum cupiebat prælio decernere, adverſa Nobilitate; a quibus id impetrare non poterat. Buch. 529. Leſl. 435.

(*v*) Leſl. 437. Buch. 529.

When the Earl of *Arran* Regent, *Anno* ..... went with a goodly Army to beſiege the Church of *Coldingham*, which the *Engliſh*, for the time had fortified, he was forced to run for it, abruptly; fearing (as *Buchanan* ſays (*w*) his friends pretended) leſt his *Army* ſhould betray him into the hands of the *Engliſh*. And

(*w*) Buch. 544.

Anno 1557, when the *Queen Regent* (*Mary* of *Lorrain*) was moſt earneſt to have had *England* invaded, thereby to have made a Diverſion, and eaſed *France* of the *Engliſh Force*, which was aſſiſting *Philip* the Second of *Spain* againſt *Henry* the Second of *France*,

the Nobility could by no means be gain'd to do it, as all our Hiſtorians tell us. I could have inſiſted on this Deduction far more largely, but I think, what I have ſaid, may be ſufficient for my purpoſe, which was to ſhew how much *Scotland* was diſengaged of *Foreign Influences*, and by conſequence, how much it was diſpoſed to receive *Engliſh impreſſions* from the very *Dawning* of our *Reformation*, till its *Legal Eſtabliſhment* 1560.

Let us next try, if according to theſe *Diſpoſitions*, the *Engliſh influences* were *Communicated*; and made ſuitable impreſſions. And, I think, in the

1ſt place, No man can reaſonably doubt but that 'tis fairly credible, they did: For no man can deny that the Reformation made a conſiderable figure in *England*, more early, than it did in *Scotland*: When *Light* was thus *ariſing* in the *Iſle*, it was natural for it to overſpread both Nations: And it was as Natural, that the more and ſooner *Enlightned Nation* ſhould be the fountain of Communication; that is, in plain terms, that *Scotland* ſhould derive it, under God, from *England*; Eſpecially conſidering, how, at that time, they were mutually diſpoſed towards one another. Indeed

2. 'Tis certain, *Books* deſerve to be reckoned amongſt the *prime Vehicles* of ſuch *Light* as we are now conſidering; and 'tis as certain, That the firſt Books which enlightned *Scotland* were brought from *England*.

Tindal

Tindal tranſlated the New Teſtament into *Engliſh*, *Anno* 1531. And Copies of it were diſperſed here in conſiderable plenty; and other uſeful Books were then written alſo in the Vulgar Language, which was common to both Nations; which coming from *England*, had great ſucceſs in *Scotland*, as is evident even from *Knox*'s Hiſtory: (*a*) But this is not all. The truth of all this will appear more fully, if,

(*a*) Kn. 38.

3. We conſider, That King *Henry* had no ſooner begun his Reformation (ſuch as it was) in *England*, than, he Endeavoured to tranſmit it into *Scotland*. He ſhook off the *Popes Supremacy*, *Anno* 1534. And he ſent the *Biſhop* of *St. Davids* to his *Nephew James* of *Scotland*, *Anno* 1535. (*b*) with *Books* written in *Engliſh*, containing the ſubſtance of Chriſtian Religion; Earneſtly deſiring him to read them, and joyn with him in carrying on the Reformation. And *Herbert* ſays, (*c*) *Henry* was vaſtly ſollicitous, *To draw* James *on his ſide, as knowing of what Conſequence it was to keep his Kingdom ſafe on that part; And therefore Laboured ſtill to induce him to abrogate the Papal Juriſdiction in his Dominions*: And tho this Embaſſy of *St. Davids* had not ſucceſs, yet *Henry* gave not over; but continued to write Letters to *James*, inſiſting ſtill upon the ſame Requeſts. *Petrie* has tranſcribed one from *Fox* (*d*) wherein *Henry* "Premoniſhes, "requires, and moſt heartily prays *James* to "conſider the *Supremacy* granted by the

(*b*) Buch Spot. 70.

(*c*) Herb. 396.

(*d*) Pet. 176.

" Holy Scriptures, to Princes, in Church
" matters: To weigh what Gods word
" calleth a Church: To conſider what
" Superſtitions, Idolatries, and blind abuſes,
" have crept into all Realms, to the high
" Diſpleaſure of God; and what is to be
" underſtood by the Cenſures of the
" Church, and Excommunication, (for the
" *Pope* had then Excommunicated *Henry*)
" and how no ſuch Cenſure can be in the
" power of the *Biſhop* of *Rome*, or of any
" other man, againſt him, or any other
" Prince, having ſo juſt ground to avoid
" from the Root, and to aboliſh, ſuch ane
" execrable Authority, as the *Biſhop* of
" *Rome* hath uſurped, and uſurps upon all
" Princes, to their Great Damage: Requeſt-
" ing him for theſe Reaſons, to ponder,
" of what hazard it might be, to *James*
" himſelf, if he agreed to ſuch Cenſures,
" and, by ſuch example, gave upper-hand,
" over himſelf, and other Princes, to that
" *Uſurper* of *Rome*, to *ſcourge* all who will
" not *Kiſs* and *Adore* the *foot* of that *Corrupt*
" *Holineſs*, which deſires nothing but *Pride*,
" and the univerſal *Thrall* of *Chriſtendom*,
" *&c.*

Here was Earneſtneſs, for Reformation in *Scotland*, with a witneſs. And can it be imagined that *Henry*, who was ſo ſerious with the King of *Scots*, was at no pains at all with his Subjects? with the Nobility and Gentry, with ſuch as might had influence, either at the Court, or in the Country?

Country? No, certainly, as may be evident, if we conſider

4. That, when, in the year 1540 or 1541, *Henry* was earneſt for a *Congreſs* with *James*, to try, no doubt, if meeting face to face, and perſonal and familiar Converſe and Conference might prevail with him; All our *Scottiſh Proteſtants* were mighty zealous that the *Interview* might take effect, and both time and place (which was *York*) might be punctually obſerved. Is not this a Demonſtration, that they underſtood *Henry*'s *project*, and approved his deſigns? and that they were in the ſame Bottom with him, in purſuance of a Reformation? 'Tis true *James* followed other Counſels, and diſappointed the Interview; and therefore *Henry* turn'd angry, and raiſed War againſt him: But then, 'tis as true, that *James* found his Subjects ſo backward (as I ſhewed) and was ſo unſucceſsful in the management of that War, that he contracted *Melancholy*, and ſoon after died. Add to this

Factio Sacerdotibus iniquior toto Conatu, atq; animi viribus, eo incubuerunt, ut Rex tempus locumque colloquii petitum obiret, Buch. 525.

5. That after *James*'s Death, *Henry* perſiſted, in his Concern to advance the Reformation in *Scotland*, as well as in *England*. To this end, He was careful, that thoſe of the *Scottiſh* Nobility and Gentry who were taken Priſoners at *Solway-moſs*, might be lodged with ſuch perſons as could inſtruct them in the Reforming Principles. And

ſo

ſo ſoon as he heard that *James* was dead, and had left a *Daughter*, ſome few days old, yet *Heireſs* of the Crown, He diſpatched them for *Scotland*, to promote his intereſts, in the Matter of the Match, he was zealous to have made, betwixt his Son Prince *Edward*, and our *Infant* Soveraign. Indeed they were as diligent as he could have deſired: They got it carried in Parliament; and that they did it from a proſpect of carrying on the Reformation of Religion, by that conjunction, cannot be doubted, if we may believe Dr *Burnet*, in his Abridgment of the Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of *England*: For there (*e*) he not only tells, "That *Caſſils had got theſe* "*ſeeds of Knowledge at* Lambeth, *under* Cranmer's *influences, which produced afterwards* "*a Great Harveſt in* Scotland. But alſo, "That the other Priſoners were inſtructed "to ſuch a degree, that they came to have "very different thoughts of the Changes "that had been made in *England*, from "what the *Scottiſh* Clergy had poſſeſſed "them with; who had encouraged their "King to engage in the War, by the aſſurance of Victory, ſince he fought againſt "ane Heretical Prince, *&c.* And a little after, They were ſent home, and went away much pleaſed both with the Splendor of the Kings Court, and with the *way of Religion* which they had ſeen in *England*. And that we have reaſon to believe this Author in this matter, is evident, becauſe he

(*e*) Burn. 279, 280.

he is juſtified, herein, by all our Hiſtorians, eſpecially *Buchanan*, as may appear by the ſequel. Here was Succeſs of the *Engliſh* influences: Seven of the *Supreme Order*, *i. e.* Noblemen, and 24 of inferior Quality, conſiderable Gentlemen, all *enlightned* in *England*, for ſo *Buchanan* numbers them. (*f*) And here, by the way, it will not be amiſs to conſider the ſtrength of the *Proteſtant Party* in *Scotland*, when in this Parliament, wherein the Match, by the influence of the *Engliſh* Converts, was agreed to,

(*f*) Buch. 532.

They were ſo ſtrong, that they carried the *Regency* for the *Earl* of *Arran*, prompted thereto, chiefly by the perſwaſion they had of his affection to the Reformation, as is evident from the conſentient Accounts of *Buchanan*, *Knox*, and *Spotſwood*. (*g*) They carried it for the *Match* with *England* in oppoſition to all the *Popiſh Party*, as I have juſt now repreſented. Nay, which is more, becauſe more immediately concerning the Reformation of Religion, they procured ane Act to be made, *That it ſhould be Lawful to every Man, to take the Benefit of the Tranſlation, which they then had of the Bible, and other Treatiſes containing wholſome Doctrine, &c.* (*h*)

(*g*) Buch. 531. Kn. 36. Spot. 71.

(*h*) Kn. 38. Spot. 72.

Indeed, at that time, the Reformation was ſo far advanced, That the *Regent* kept his *two Proteſtant Chaplains*, *Guillam* and *Rough*, both Church of *England men*, as we ſhall hear, who preached publickly to the *Court* (*i*) and declaim'd boldly againſt the *Roman Corruptions*. So far advanced, that it ſtood

(*i*) Lefl. 443. Kn. 36. Spot. 72.

ſtood fair, within a ſhort ſpace, to have got the publick eſtabliſhment, if *Arran*, the *Regent*, to keep the *Popes Cover* on his *Title* to the *Succeſſion*, wherein, without it, there were a *Couple* of ſad *Chaſms*, and for other worldly ends, had not play'd the *Jade*, by renouncing his Profeſſion, and returning to the *Popes* Obedience.

Obſerve further, by the way, That this firſt Parliament of Queen *Mary*'s, was holden, in her name, and by her Authority, upon the 13th of *March* 154$\frac{2}{3}$. as is clear, not only from our Hiſtorians, but, the printed Acts of Parliament; and ſhe was not crowned till the 20th of *Auguſt* thereafter, if we may believe both *Leſly* and *Buchanan*. (*k*) And yet there was not ſo much as the leaſt objection made, then, againſt the Legality of the Parliament; no ſuch thing was thought on: So that 'tis no new, nor illegal thing, for *Scottiſh Monarchs* to hold Parliaments before their *Coronations*. But this, as I ſaid, by the way.

(*k*) Leſl. 444, 445. Buch. 537.

Such was the ſtrength of the Reforming Party, then, and this ſtrength, under God, advanced ſo far, principally, by *Engliſh influences*. And all this will appear more convincing ſtill, when it is conſidered in the 6th place, That all alongſt the *Popiſh Clergy* were very ſenſible of it, and very much offended with it, and were at all imaginable pains to diſappoint it, and oppoſe it. Thus,

When

When *Henry* ſent the *Biſhop* of *St. Davids* (as we have heard) *Anno* 1535. to treat with *James* about Reforming, the *Clergy* were in a dreadful *pother*, how to keep off the Interview; and uſed all imaginable Arguments with the King, to diſſwade him from liſtening to it; Telling him, it would ruine Religion, and that would ruine his Soul, his State, his Kingdom, *&c.* Nay

Sacerdotes qui pro aris & focis ſibi certandum videbant fremere; Religionem hoc congreſſu prodi. Buch. 521.

The *Pope* himſelf was extreamly ſolicitous, how to prevent ſo great a miſchief, as he deem'd it; For, as *Leſly* tells us (*l*) His *Holineſs* finding that *Henry* had caſt off his Yoke, and fearing leſt *James* ſhould tranſcribe his *Uncles* Copy, ſent his Legates to *Scotland* to confirm him in the Faith, and fortify him againſt *Henry*'s impreſſions. And *Buchanan* (*m*) ſays, He allowed him the Tenths of all the Benefices within the Kingdom, for three years time, to keep him right. Again,

(*l*) Leſl. 415.

(*m*) Buch. 517.

When *Henry*, *Anno* 1540. inſiſted the ſecond time for ane *Interview*, the *Clergy* were in a whole Sea of troubles; They uſed all arts, and tried all Methods to impede it. At laſt they fell upon the true *Knack*, (and a true Demonſtration of their Concern, ſeeing, it was a *Knack* that lookt ſo *unkindly* on their *Pockets*) which was, to promiſe him Money, largely, no leſs

Id cum Sacerdotes reſciſſent, actum de Ordine ſuo Rati, niſi Congreſſum Regum impedirent, &c. Buch. 525. vid. Leſl. 431, 432.

leſs than 30000 Crowns yearly, ſays *Buchanan*; *Knox* calls them 50000, out of their Benefices, beſides a vaſt ſum which might ariſe out of the confiſcated Eſtates of Hereticks. 50000 Crowns was a good round ſumm in thoſe days in *Scotland*. Further,

How were they alarm'd? what fears were they under? what ſhapes did they turn themſelves in? what tricks did they play, when the *Match* betwixt *Edward* and *Mary* (ſpoken of before) was in Agitation? The Cardinal forged a *Will* in the *Kings Name*, nominating himſelf, the principal, of four Conjunct Regents, for managing the Government during the Queen's Minority: intending, thereby, to ſecure the *Popiſh* intereſts, and prevent the coming of the Nobility from *England*, who, he knew, would lay out themſelves with all their Might to oppoſe him, being his Enemies upon the account of Religion, and advance the Deſigns of *England*. This not ſucceeding, (for the forgery was manifeſt) His next Care was, that all the *Popiſh* Party ſhould *tumultuate*, bawl and clamour, confound and diſturb, the Parliament, all they could; which, indeed, was done ſo ſucceſsfully, that nothing could be done to purpoſe, till he was committed to Cuſtody: (n) Neither did this put an end to theſe practices

Occaſio item ſupremæ poteſtatis invadendæ, & celeritatis egere viſa eſt, ut Captivorum & Exulum, ex Anglia, Reditum, præveniret, ne quid in approbatione ſui honoris, eis, integrum Relinqueret, quorum & potentiam & Gratiam formidabat, & mentem a ſe alienam, ob diverſum pietatis cultum non dubitabat. Buch. 531. vide Kn. 35. Spot. 71.

(n) Buch. 533.

practices of the Party, but ſo ſoon as the Parliament (having concluded the Match) was over, and he ſet at Liberty, with the Queen Dowagers advice (who was all over *French* and Papiſt) He convenes the Clergy, repreſents to them the impoſſibiſity of their ſtanding, the certain Ruine of the Catholick Religion, every thing that could be frightful to them, unleſs that Confederacy with *England* were broken; obliges them therefore to tax themſelves, and raiſe great Sums of Money, for Bribing ſome of the Nobility, that were not proof againſt its Charms and Beauties; And to uſe all their Rhetorick with others, to the ſame purpoſe: And laſtly, it was concluded in that Religious Meeting, That the *Match* and *Alliance* ſhould be preacht againſt from the Pulpits; and that all poſſible pains ſhould be taken to excite the Populace to Tumults and Rabbles, and treat the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, with all affronting Tricks and Rudeneſſes. (o) In ſhort, the Faction never gave over till they had cajol'd the weak Regent into ane Abjuration of Proteſtancy (as was told before) and reconciled him to the *French*, which, then, in *Scotland*, was all one with *the Popiſh* Intereſt. Nay

(o) Vide Buch. 533, 534. Spot. 73.

His Holineſs himſelf again interreſted himſelf in this juncture, as *Leſly* tells us; (p) ſending *Petrus Franciſcus Contarenus, Patriarch of Venice*, his Legate, into *Scotland*, to treat with the Regent and the Nobility, in the *Popes* Name, and promiſe them large aſſiſtances

(p) Leſl. 445, 449.

Studebat enim avertere illorum animos a Nuptiis cum Anglo contrahendis, quod ſuſpicaretur, per illam Conjunctionem, aliquam fieri potuiſſe, in Scotia, Religionis everſionem, &c. Leſl. 449.

aſſiſtances againſt the *Engliſh*, if they would break the Contract of Marriage betwixt *Edward* and *Mary*; which had ſo fatal ane aſpect towards the Catholick Religion. By this Taſte, 'tis eaſy to diſcern how much the *Popiſh* Party were perſwaded, of the great influence, *England* had on *Scotland* in order to a Reformation of Religion: And laying all together that hath been ſaid, 'tis as eaſy to perceive, they wanted not reaſon for ſuch a perſwaſion. Having thus given a brief Deduction of the State of our Reformation in King *Henry*'s time, and made it apparent, that it was much encouraged and quickened by *Engliſh Influences*, then, I think, I need not inſiſt much on the ſucceeding Reigns. Briefly then

7. As *Edward* the Sixth had the ſame reaſons for intereſting himſelf in our *Scottiſh* affairs, which his Father *Henry* had before him, ſo we find his Counſels were ſuited accordingly. No ſooner was *Henry* dead, and *Somerſet* warm'd in his *Protectoral* Chair, than the Demands about the *Match* were renewed. And being rejected by the *Popiſh* Party, here, who had our weak Regent at their *Beck*, and were then the governing Party, the Matter ended in a Bloody War. *Somerſet* raiſed a great Army, and entered *Scotland*: But before

it

it came to fighting, he ſent a Letter to the *Scots* (*q*) written in ſuch ane obliging ſtile, and containing ſo kind, and ſo fair, ſo equitable propoſitions, That the *Regent*, advis'd by ſome *Papiſts* about him, thought fit not to publiſh it to his Army, but to give out, that it tended to quite contrary purpoſes than it really contained, That it contain'd Threats that the *Engliſh* were come to carry off the *Queen* by *force*, and Ruine and Enſlave the Nation, *&c.* Dreading, no doubt, that if he had dealt candidly, and ſhewed the Letter to ſuch men of intereſt in the Nation, as were there, it would have taken ſo with them, that they would have laid aſide thoughts of Fighting. Indeed! this was no groundleſs jealouſie, the matter was above-board: For, as *Buchanan* tells us, In the next Convention of Eſtates which was holden ſhortly after that fatal Battel of *Pinkie*, thoſe who were for the Reformation, being of the *ſame Religion* with *England*, were zealous for the *Engliſh* Alliance, and againſt ſending the Queen into *France*; and that they were the Papiſts only who were for ſending her thither.

(*q*) Buch 561. Spot: 88. Knox. 87.

Erant qui ob *Religionis Conſenſum Anglorum* oblatam amicitiam cenſerent amplectendam —— *Gallicæ factioni* favebant omnes *Papani*. Buch. 566. Spot. 89.

8. When *Edward* died, and his Siſter *Mary* aſcended the Throne, a heavy Cloud indeed did hang over both Nations, and threatned a dreadful ſtorm to the Reformation of Religion. *Mary*, according to

her ſurly humour, fell to downright Perſecution in *England*: And our *Q. Dowager* having ſhouldered out *Arran*, and poſſeſt herſelf of the *Scottiſh* Regency, in her ſubtle way, was as zealous to maintain the Superſtitions of Popery, uſing *leſs Cruelty*, indeed, than *Mary*, but *more policy*, and to the ſame purpoſes. And now the purgation of Chriſtianity, ſeem'd to be brought to a lamentable ſtand, in both Kingdoms, and the hopes of thoſe to be quite daſht, who were breathing for the profeſſion of that Holy Religion in its purity. "Yet "God, in his kind providence, did other-"wiſe diſpoſe of things, and made that a "means to advance Religion amongſt us, "which, men thought, ſhould have utter-"ly extinguiſht it: For ſome of thoſe who "fled from *Mary*'s perſecution in *England*, "taking their Refuge into this Kingdom, "did not only help to keep the light which "had begun to ſhine, but made the Sun "to break up more clear than before, as *Spotſwood* hath it from *Knox*. (r) For then came into *Scotland*, *William Harlaw*, *John Willock*, *John Knox*, *&c.* of whom more hereafter. Thus we were ſtill deriving more *light* and *heat* from *England*.

(r) Spot. 92. Kn. 99.

9. *Mary* died, and *Elizabeth* ſucceeded, in *November* 1588. our *Queen* was then in *France*: It was morally impoſſible to recover her thence: The *Engliſh influences*, which in *Henry* and *Edwards* time, had cheriſhed our Reformation, (except ſo far as God ſent

ſent us *Harlaw*, *Willock* and *Knox*, by his ſpecial providence, as I told juſt now) were quite cut off all the time of *Mary*'s Government. Our Reformers, therefore, to make the *beſt* of a *bad* hand, were earneſt to be amongſt the foremoſt Courtiers with the Queen Regent: They were ready to ſerve her deſign with all poſſible frankneſs: particularly, they were amongſt the moſt forward for carrying on the *Match* with the *Dauphine* of *France*, and voted chearfully that he ſhould have the *Matrimonial Crown* conferred upon him, after the ſolemnization of the Marriage. In conſequence of this their frankneſs, the *Earl* of *Argyle* and the *Prior* of *St. Andrews*, two firſt-rate Proteſtants, were the perſons nominated to paſs into *France*, to honour the *Dauphine* with that complement: And they undertook it cordially.

But, in the very inſtant, almoſt, they were informed that *Mary* of *England* was dead, and *Elizabeth* on the Throne, and withal profeſſing Proteſtancy. This altered their whole *Scheme*: They preſently conſidered, The *Engliſh Influences*, ſo long *ſtopt* in their Courſes, might now begin to *Drop* again: And there were hopes of Aſſiſtance from that *Female* Soveraign: So, theſe two Lords (no doubt, with the advice of the reſt of the fraternity) gave over thoughts of their *French Voyage*: The *Dauphine* might purchaſe a *Crown* for himſelf, or wait till his *Father* dyed, if he could not do better: They re-

ſolved to carry him no *Matrimonial Crowns* from *Scotland*. Indeed their hopes of Aſſiſtance from *England* to carry on the Reformation of Religion, were better grounded *then* than ever. For,

Upon the Death of Queen *Mary* of *England*, by *French* advice, our *Queen*, as *Next Heir* to that *Crown*, had aſſumed the *Engliſh Titles*. 'Tis not to be thought *Elizabeth* lik'd this well; and reſolving to continue *Queen* of *England*, ſhe had no reaſon: For who knows not that her *Title* was *Queſtionable*? But our Queens *Deſcent* was *Uncontroverted*. What wonder then if *Elizabeth* thought herſelf concerned to ſecure herſelf as well as ſhe could? And what more feaſible and proper way for her ſecurity, than to have the *Affections*, and by conſequence the *Power* of *Scotland* on her ſide? And what meaſure ſo natural for obtaining *that*, as to cheriſh the Reformation of Religion in *Scotland*, and weaken the *Popiſh*, and by conſequence, the *French* intereſts there, and get the *Rule* of that Kingdom put in the hands of *Proteſtants*? The politick was obviouſly ſolid; all the work was to ſet it a going: But that difficulty was ſoon over; for no ſooner did ſhe employ ſome private inſtruments, to try the *Scottiſh* pulſes, than they *ſmelt* the matter, and *reliſht* it immediately. The leaſt intimation that ſhe was ſo inclined, was to them as a ſpark of fire amongſt Gun-powder, it kindled them in a *thought*: They addreſt her, quickly beg'd

beg'd her protection, and plighted their Faith that they would depend upon her, and ſtand by her, and to the outmoſt of their power, ſecure her intereſts; if ſhe would grant them ſuitable aſſiſtances. Thus the bargain was readily agreed to on both ſides; and both perform'd their parts ſucceſsfully. For who knows not that our Reformation was carried on by *Elizabeths Auſpices?* by *Engliſh* Arms, and Counſels, and Money in the year 1560? And who knows not, that by the *Treaty* at *Leith* in *July*, that ſame year, after the *French* were expelled *Scotland*, when our Reformers, by her help, had got the upper hand, her Crown was ſecured, as far as the *Scottiſh* Proteſtants could ſecure it? Who knows not, I ſay, that it was one of the *Articles* of that *Treaty*, *That the* Queen *of* Scotland *and* King *of* France, *ſhould not, thereafter, uſurp the Titles of* England *and* Ireland, *and ſhould delete the Arms of* England *and* Ireland *out of their* Scutchions? *and whole Houſhold-ſtuff?* (s) By this time, I think, it may competently appear, how much our *Scottiſh* Reformation, under God, depended on *Engliſh influences*. But I have two things more to add

(s) Spot. 149.

10. Then, It is conſiderable that ſome of our *Chief Luminaries*, of *thoſe*, who had a principal hand in preaching and planting the Goſpel in Purity among us, had drunk in theſe principles in *England*, and brought them, thence, to *Scotland* with them. Thus

the excellent Martyr Mr. *George Wiſhart*, (of whom in part before) as *Spotſwood* tells us, (*t*) had ſpent his time in *Cambridge*, and return'd to his own Country to promote the Truth in it, *Anno* 1544. And Mr. *John Spotſwood*, that worthy man who was ſo long *Superintendent* of *Lothian* after our Reformation, was one of *Cranmers Diſciples*, as you may ſee in the beginning of the *Life* of *Archbiſhop Spotſwood* his Son, and alſo in his Hiſtory. (*u*) And *John Willock* and *William Harlaw* had both lived in *England*, before they preacht in *Scotland*, as I have already accounted; and perhaps a ſtrict Enquiry might diſcover ſome others.

(*t*) Spot. 76.

(*u*) Spot. 344.

11. and laſtly, On the other hand, (except ſo far as *John Knox* was *Calviniſt*, and a Lover of the *Forms* of *Geneva*, for which, perhaps, I ſhall account hereafter) none of our Hiſtorians give ſo much as one particular inſtance, of a *Scottiſh* Reformer who had his Education in any other *foreign* Church, except Mr. *Patrick Hamilton*, who, I think, cannot be proven to have been a *Presbyterian*; and tho it could be done, it could amount to no more than the Authority of a very young man, conſidering he was but 23 years of age when he died. Neither do they mention any *Foreigner*, who came here to *Scotland*, to aſſiſt us in our Reformation. *Leſly*, (*v*) indeed, ſays, that the *Scottiſh* Proteſtants ſent Letters and Meſſengers to *Germany*, to call thence *Sacramentarian* Miniſters, as being very dexterous at foſtering Sedition,

(*v*) Leſl. 492.

Sedition, and ſubverting Religion; but no other Hiſtorian ſays ſo; and he himſelf ſays not that ever any ſuch came to *Scotland*. Thus, I think, I have accounted competently for the firſt thing propoſed, *viz.* That our Reformation, under God, was principally Cheriſhed and Encouraged by *Engliſh Influences*, I proceed to the

2. Which was, That, in *Correſpondence* to theſe *Influences*, our Reformers were generally of the ſame *Mind* with the *Church* of *England*, in ſeveral momentous inſtances relating to the Conſtitution and Communion, the Government and Polity of the Church, wherein, our preſent *Presbyterian* principles ſtand in direct oppoſition and contradiction to *her*.

That our Reformers agreed with thoſe of the Church of *England*, in the Common *Articles* of the *Chriſtian Faith*, in their *Creed*, was never called in Queſtion. But it is not my preſent purpoſe to conſider the ſentiments of our Reformers in relation to the *Church* as it is a *Sect*, but as it is a *Society*, neither ſhall I be curious to amuſe many particulars; I ſhall content my ſelf with two or three of conſiderable weight and importance. And

1. Our Reformers, generally, or rather, unanimouſly, lookt on the Church of *England*, as a Church ſo well conſtituted, that her *Communion* was a *Lawful Communion*. For this we have two as good Evidences as the nature of the thing is capable of, *viz.*

The constant and uniform practice of our Reformers *joining* in the Communion of the Church of *England*, when they had occasion, as those of the Church of *England* did, with the Church of *Scotland*; and their *open profession* in their *publick deeds* that they thought it *Lawful*.

1. I say it was the *constant practice* of our Reformers to *joyn* in the *Communion* of the *Church* of *England*, when they had occasion, as those of the *Church* of *England*, did, with the *Church* of *Scotland*. Thus, we find all such of our Reformers, as, in times of Persecution, fled into *England*, still *joyning* with the Church of *England*; e.g. *Friar Alexander Seaton*, (*a*) when he was forced to flee, in King *James* the 5th's time, went to *England*, and became the *Duke* of *Suffolk*'s *Chaplain*, and died in that service. *Alexander Aleſs* was in great favour with King *Henry*, and called the *King's Schollar*. (*b*) He was a Member of the *Engliſh Convocation*, and diſputed againſt *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, and maintain'd there were but two Sacraments, *Baptiſm* and the *Euchariſt*, *Anno* 1536, or 37: (*c*) And he it was that firſt turn'd the *Engliſh Liturgy* into *Latin*, for *Bucer*'s uſe, *Anno* 1549, as both *Heylin* and *Burnet*, in their Hiſtories of the *Engliſh* Reformation, tell us. (*d*) *John Fife*, and one *M'Dowdal* ſtayed as long in *England* as *Aleſs* did. (*e*) And 'tis not to be doubted that they were of the ſame principles. *John M'Bee* during his abode in *England*, was liberally

(*a*) Spot. 65.

(*b*) Spot. 66.

(*c*) Burnet ad An.

(*d*) Burn. ad Ann. Heylin. p. 79.

(*e*) Spot. 66.

liberally entertained by *Nicol. Saxton* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, who made much account of him, (*f*) which is no argument, I think, that he was a *Presbyterian*. Sir *John Borthwick* was charged with *Hereſie*, *Anno* 1640, for maintaining, *That the Hereſies, commonly called the Hereſies of* England, *and their New Liturgy, was Commendable, and to be embraced of all Chriſtians:* And, *That the Church of* Scotland *ought to be govern'd, after the manner of the Church of* England, (*g*) *i. e.* under the *King*, and not the *Pope*, as Supreme Governor. *Friar Thomas Guillam*, the firſt publick Preacher of the Reformed Religion, in *Scotland*, *He*, by whoſe Sermons *John Knox got the firſt lively impreſſions of the Truth* (*h*), This *Guillam*, I ſay, after *Arran*, the Regent, *Apoſtatized*, withdrew, and went into *England*, (*i*) and we hear no more of him; From which 'tis reaſonable to conclude, That he kept the Common Courſe with the other Reformers, *there*.

(*f*) Ibid.

(*g*) Spot. 70. Pet. 180.

(*h*) *Life of* Knox.

(*i*) Spot. 73.

John Rough was the *Regents* other *Chaplain*, while he was Proteſtant; He likewiſe fled to *England*, tho ſometime after *Guillam*: He preached ſome years in the Towns of *Carliſle*, *Berwick* and *Newcaſtle*; and was afterwards provided to a Benefice by the *Archbiſhop* of *York*, where he lived till the Death of *King Edward*. When *Mary*'s Perſecution turn'd warm, he fled, and lived ſome time in *Freeſland*. He came to *London*, about ſome buſineſs, *Anno* 1557. was apprehended, and brought before *Bonner*;

Queſtioned

Queſtioned if he had preached any, ſince he came to *England*? Anſwered he had preached none: But in ſome places where godly people were Aſſembled, He had read the *Prayers of the Communion Book ſet forth in the Reign of King* Ed. VI. Queſtion'd again, what his Judgment was of that *Book?* Anſwered, *He approved it, as agreeing in all points with the word of God*; And ſo ſuffered Martyrdom. I think this man was neither for *Parity*, nor againſt *Liturgies*. But to proceed.

The excellent *Mr. Wiſhart*, as he had ſpent ſome time in *England* (as was told before) ſo, it ſeems, he returned to *Scotland*, of *Engliſh* (I am confident, not of *Presbyterian*) *Principles*: For, he was not only for the Lawfulneſs of *Private Communion*, as appeared by his practice; but *Knox* (*k*) gives us fair intimations, that he miniſtred it by a *Set-form*. I know *King Edward*'s Liturgy was not then compoſed: But it is not to be imagined, That the Reformers in *England*, in *Wiſhart*'s time adminiſtred the Sacrament without a *Set-form*. The *Extemporary Spirit* was not, then, in *vogue*: And why, elſe, could Sir *John Borthwick* have been charged with the *Great Hereſy* of *Commending* the *Engliſh Liturgy*? However, I ſhall not be peremptory, becauſe I have not the opportunity of enquiring, at preſent, what *Forms* the *Engliſh Reformers* had, *then*. All I ſhall ſay, is, if they had a *Liturgy*, 'tis very probable, *Wiſhart* uſed it; For, as

(*k*) Kn: Hiſt. 69.

Knox

Knox tells us, when he celebrated the Euchariſt, before his Execution, " After he " had bleſſed the *Bread* and *Wine*, he took " the *Bread* and *Brake* it, and gave to every " one of it, bidding each of them, *Remember* " *that Chriſt had died for them, and feed on it* " *ſpiritually*; ſo taking the Cup, he bade " them *Remember that Chriſts Blood was ſhed* " *for them*, &c. So *Knox*, word for word, which account, I think, ſeems fairly to intimate, that *Wiſhart* uſed a *Form*, but if he did, what other could it be than *ſuch* as he had learned in *England*?

I have accounted already how *John Willock* and *William Harlaw* had ſerved in the *Engliſh Church*, before they came to *Scotland*, (*l*) I might perhaps make a fuller Collection: But what needs more? (*l*) Spot. 93.

Even *Knox* himſelf lived in *Communion* with the Church of *England*, all the time he was in that Kingdom: He went not there to keep Conventicles, to erect *Altar* againſt *Altar*, to *gather Churches* out of the *Church* of *England*, to ſet up ſeparate and ſchiſmatical Churches, as ſome of our preſent Parity-men have ſometimes done: No, he preached in the publick Churches, and, in ſubordination to the Biſhops; and he preached before King *Edward* himſelf, as he himſelf tell us, in his *Admonition to the Profeſſors of the Truth in* England; (*m*) which, it is very improbable, he would have been allowed to have done, if he had *Condemned* the Communion of the Church (*m*) p. 52.

of

of *England*, as it was *then* eſtabliſhed: For who knows not, that, in King *Edwards* time, all *Schiſm* and *Non-Conformity* were ſufficiently diſcouraged? And, through that whole *Admonition*, he, ſtill, ſpeaks of himſelf as *One* of the *Miniſters* of the *Church of England*. Nay

If it be *Reaſonable* to *Collect* mens *Sentiments* from their *Reaſonings*, I am ſure, in that ſame *Admonition* I have enough for my purpoſe: For, he reaſons upon ſuppoſitions, and from Principles, which, clearly, condemned *Separation* from the Church of *England*, as *then* eſtabliſhed. For, when he gives his thoughts of that fatal Diſcord which happened between the two great men (*Somerſet*, and the *Admiral*, as I take it) He diſcourſes thus; *God compelled my tongue* (ſays he) *openly to declare, That the Devil and his Miniſters* (the Papiſts) *Intended only the Subverſion of Gods true Religion, by that Mortal Hatred amongſt thoſe who ought to have been, moſt aſſuredly, Knit together by Chriſtian Charity* —— *And eſpecially that the wicked and envious Papiſts* (*by that ungodly Breach of Charity*) *diligently minded the overthrow of him* (Somerſet) *that, to his own Deſtruction, procured the Death of his innocent friend* (and Brother)— *All this trouble was deviſed, by the Devil and his inſtruments, to ſtop and lett Chriſt's Diſciples and their poor Boat* (*i. e.* the Church.) What can be more plain (I ſay) than, that *Knox*, here, proceeds on ſuppoſitions, and reaſons from Principles, which con-

condemned *Separation* from the Church of *England*, as then eſtabliſhed? Doth he not ſuppoſe, that the Church of *England*, as then eſtabliſhed, was Chriſt's *Boat*, his Church? And that the *Sons* of the *Church of England* were *Chriſt's Diſciples*? Doth he not ſuppoſe, that theſe two Brothers, as *Sons* of the Church of *England*, ought to have been *aſſuredly knit* together, by *Chriſtian Charity*? That the *Breach* between them was ane *ungodly Breach* of *that Charity*, by which, Members of that *ſame Church* ought to have been *aſſuredly knit together*? And that it was a contrivance of the *wicked* and *envious Papiſts*, thereby, to *Ruine* the *Church* of *England*? Doth he not ſuppoſe all theſe as unundoubted Truths, I ſay. Or rather, doth he not poſitively or expreſly aſſert them? And now, if *Separation* from the *Church* of *England*, and *condemning* her *Communion* as ane *Unlawful* Communion can conſiſt with theſe principles and ſuppoſitions; or, if he who reaſons on theſe ſuppoſitions, and from theſe principles, can be deem'd, at the ſame time, to have been for the *Unlawfulneſs* of the *Communion* of the Church of *England*, I muſt confeſs I know not what it is to *collect* mens *ſentiments* from their *Principles* and *Reaſonings*.

Whoſo pleaſes may find more of *Knox*'s ſentiments to this purpoſe, in his *Exhortation to* England *for the ſpeedy receiving of Chriſts Goſpel*; Dated from *Geneva*, *January* 12. 1559. For, there, he calls *England happy*, In that,

God

God by the power of his verity, of late years (*i.e.* in King *Edward*'s time) *had broken and deſtroyed the intolerable yoke of her ſpiritual Captivity, and brought her forth, as it had been, from the bottom of Hell, and from the Thraldom of Satan (in which ſhe had been holden blinded by Idolatry and Superſtition) to the fellowſhip of his Angels, and the poſſeſſion of that rich Inheritance, prepared to his Deareſt Children with Chriſt Jeſus his Son.* And a little after, he ſays of the *Church* of *England*, that in that ſame King *Edward*'s days, *ſhe was a Delectable Garden planted by the Lords own hand.* (*o*) And in his *Letter to Secretary Cecil*, from *Diep, April* 10, 1559. he tells him, *He expects that ſame favour from him, which, it becometh one Member of Chriſts Body to have for another.* (*p*) And in his *Letter to Q. Elizabeth* from *Edenburgh*, 28 *July* 1559. *He renders thanks unfeignedly to God, That it hath pleaſed him of his eternal Goodneſs, to exalt her Head to the Manifeſtation of his Glory, and the Extirpation of Idolatry.* (*q*) Is this like the *Clamour* which has been ordinary with our *Presbyterians*, about the *Idolatry* of the *Church* of *England*? And in the concluſion of that Letter, he prays, that *the Spirit of the Lord Jeſus may ſo rule her, in all her Actions, and Enterprizes, that, in her, God may be Glorified, his Kirk Edified, and ſhe, as a lively Member of the ſame, may be ane Example of Virtue and Godlineſs of Life, to all others.* Are theſe like the ſayings of one, who, in the mean time, judged the *Communion* of the Church of *England*, ane *Unlawful Communion*.

(*o*) p. 102.

(*p*) Kn. Hiſt. 224.

(*q*) ib. 231.

'Tis

'Tis true, indeed, *John Knox* was diſpleaſed with ſome things in the *Engliſh Liturgy*: He thought ſhe had ſome *Modes* and *Ceremonies* there, which were *ſcandalous*, as *ſymbolizing* too much with the *Papiſts*; and it cannot be denied, that he diſturbed the peace of the *Engliſh* Church at *Francfort*: But, if I miſtake not, he did ſo, not that he thought the terms of her *Communion* truly *ſinful*; but, that he judged his *own*, (or rather the *Genevian*) *Model*, *purer*; For, 'tis reaſonable to think, he proceeded on the ſame principles, and was of the ſame ſentiments with his Maſter, *Calvin*: And nothing can be clearer, than, that *Calvin* did not condemn the things *ſcrupled* at, as *impious* or *unlawful*, but as not agreeable to his *Standard* of *Purity*, as appears from the Citation on the Margin, and might eaſily be made appear more fully, if one were put to it; but 'tis needleſs, now, conſidering that all, I aim at, is, that it cannot be inferred from what *Knox* did at *Francfort*, That he judged the *Communion* of the Church of *England*, ane *Unlawful Communion*, tho, I muſt confeſs in making theſe ſtirs, he proceeded, not according to the true *Catholick Principles* of *Chriſtian Communion*. But enough of him at preſent. To proceed,

In Anglicana Eccleſia; qualem deſcribitis, multas video fuiſſe tolerabiles ineptias. His duobus verbis ex primo, non fuiſſe eam puritatem, quæ optanda fuerat: Quæ tamen, primo ſtatim die, corrigi non poterant vitia, cum NULLA SUBESSET MANIFESTA IMPIETAS, ferenda ad tempus fuiſſe. Calv. Angl. Francoford. inter Epiſt. Col. 213.

As

As our Reformers thus generally lookt upon the *Church* of *England*, as a *true Church*, and her *Communion*, as a *Lawful Communion*, ſo, after our Reformation was eſtabliſhed, thoſe of the *Church* of *England*, had the *ſame ſentiments* of the *Church* of *Scotland*: The Ambaſſadors, who, at any time, for many years, came from *England* to the *Scottiſh Court*, made no ſcruple to live in the *Communion* of the *Church* of *Scotland*, and *joyn* in her *publick Worſhip*. Thus the *Earl* of *Bedford* (*r*) who came to aſſiſt at the Solemnization of the Princes (afterwards K. *James* the Sixth's) *Baptiſm*, *Anno* 1566. went daily to *Sermon*, *i. e.* (by a *Synecdoche* very familiar in *Scotland*) to the *publick Worſhip*. Neither did I ever obſerve the leaſt intimation, in any monument of theſe times, I have ſeen, of theſe *two Churches* having *oppoſite Communions*, till many years after the Reformation. But I have inſiſted long enough on this Conſideration. The ſum whereof is, briefly, this: Our Reformers ſo far as can appear from their private ſentiments and practices, lookt upon the *Church* of *England* as a *true Chriſtian Church*: They lived in her *Communion* when they had occaſion to be within her *Bounds*; not *one* of them *condemned* her *Communion* as ane *Unlawful Communion*; not *one* of them ſet up *Conventicles* in *England*, when they were *there*, nor erected *ſeparate Churches*, *&c.* From all which, it ſeems to follow, at leaſt, very probably, That they reformed, generally, upon the *ſame Principles*; intirely

(*r*) Kn. Hiſt. 440.

intirely, upon the *ſame*, as to *Church Communion*. The reaſon why I have inſiſted ſo long on this argument, is, that it ſmooths the way for the next, which is

2. That our Reformers, in their *publick deeds*, *openly* and *ſolemnly profeſt* that *they* were of *one Religion*, *one Communion*, with the *Church* of *England*. This, as I take it, is a point of conſiderable importance, and therefore I ſhall endeavour to ſet it, at leaſt, in a competent Light.

1. Then, *Unity* of *Religion* (and by good Conſequence, I think, *Oneneſs* of *Communion*) between the *Scottiſh* and the *Engliſh* Proteſtants, was the great Argument inſiſted on by the *Scots*, in their *Addreſſes* to *England* for Aſſiſtance to turn out the *French*, and eſtabliſh the Reformation in *Scotland*, *Anno* 1559: And it was *one* of the *main Grounds*, on which all that great *Revolution* was tranſacted, that year, and the next, *viz.* 1560. Take the account, as I have it from that which is commonly called *Knox his Hiſtory*.

When the *Lords* of the *Congregation*, found it would be neceſſary for them to implore foreign Aſſiſtance for driving out the *French*, then, the great Obſtacles to the Reformation; They reſolved, in the firſt place, to apply to *England*, and the Reaſon, given for this Reſolution was, That ENGLAND WAS OF THE SAME RELIGION. Or, if ye pleaſe take it in the Authors own words (*a*) *We thought good to ſeek aid, and ſupport,* (*a*) Knox 170.

ſupport, of all Chriſtian Princes, againſt her (the Queen Regents) *Tyranny, in caſe we ſhould be more ſharply perſued*, AND BECAUSE THAT ENGLAND WAS OF THE SAME RELIGION, *and lay next unto us, it was thought expedient firſt to prove them*, &c.

It was rational enough to *try*, there, firſt, indeed, conſidering what I have already obſerved concerning Queen *Elizabeth*; And, *Tryed* it was, and *found* ſucceſsful; For *Secretary Cecil*, no ſooner heard of their intention, than he ſent them word, *That their Enterprize miſliked not the* Engliſh *Council* (*b*). Upon the ſight of this great Miniſters Letter, which brought them ſo comfortable news, they inſtantly return'd ane Anſwer: *Knox* has it word for word; (*c*) I ſhall only take ane Abſtract of what is proper for my preſent purpoſe. In ſhort then;

(*b*) Kn. 228.

(*c*) Kn. ib.

"They perceive their Meſſenger, Ma-
"ſter *Kircaldie* of *Grange*, hath found *Cecil*
"*ane unfeigned favourer of Chriſt's true Reli-*
"*gion*: —— As touching the *Aſſurance* of *a*
"*perpetual Amity* to ſtand betwixt the *two*
"*Realms*, as no earthly thing is more deſired
"by them, ſo, they crave of God to be
"made the Inſtruments, by which, the
"Unnatural Debate which hath ſo long
"continued between the Nations may be
"compoſed, *To the Praiſe of Gods Name*, and,
"*the Comfort of the Faithful in both Realms*:
"If the *Engliſh Wiſdom* can *foreſee* and *deviſe*
"how

" how the ſame may be brought to paſs, " they may perſwade themſelves not only " of the *Scottiſh Conſent* and *Aſſiſtance*, but " of their *Conſtancy*, as *Men can promiſe*, to " their lives end; And of *Charge* and *Com-* " *mandment* to be *left* by *them* to *their poſterity*, " that the *Amity* between the Nations (IN " GOD) contracted and begun, may be, " by *them*, kept *inviolate* for *Ever*: Their " *Confederacy*, *Amity* and *League* ſhall not be " *like* the *pactions* made by *worldly men*, for " *worldly profit*, but, as they *Require* it, FOR " GODS CAUSE, ſo, they will *call* up- " on his *Name* for the *Obſervation* of *it*: As " this their *Confederacy* requires *Secreſy*, ſo, " they doubt not, the *Engliſh Wiſdom* will " *communicate* it only to *ſuch* as they know " to be *favourers* of ſuch A GODLY " CONJUNCTION; And, in *their* opi- " nion, it would *much* help, if the *Preachers* " both in *perſwaſion*, and in *publick prayers* " (as *theirs* in *Scotland do*) would *commend* " the ſame unto the people. And thus, " after their moſt humble Commendation " to the Queen's Majeſty, (whoſe *Reign* " they wiſh may be *proſperous* and *long*, to the " *Glory* of *God* and *Comfort* of his *Church*) " they heartily commit him to the Prote- " ction of the Omnipotent. Given at *Eden-* " *burgh*, *July* 17. *Anno* 1559.

Before I proceed further, I muſt tell my Reader, that all our Hiſtorians are extreamly defective as to this great Tranſaction between *Scotland* and *England*, I am now

accounting for. None of them (neither *Buchanan*, nor *Leſly*, nor *Spotſwood*) hath this Letter except *Knox*, and *he* calls it, *the firſt Letter* to *Sir William Cecil* from the *Lords of the Congregation*, which imports there were *more*, as no doubt there were *many*, and yet he hath not ſo much as a *ſecond*. Beſides, I find by *Knox*, *Buchanan* and *Spotſwood* (*d*) that, in *November* 1559, *Secretary Maitland* was ſent by the *Lords of the Congregation*, to treat with the *Queen* of *England*. I find likewiſe that he managed the matter ſo, and brought it to ſuch maturity, that, immediately upon his return, the *League* between the *Queen* of *England*, and the *Scottiſh Lords* was tranſacted and finiſhed; and yet I can, no where, find, what *Commiſſion* he had, nor what *Inſtructions*; how he manag'd his buſineſs, nor upon what *terms* the *Queen* of *England* and *He* came to an *Agreement*; and ſeveral other ſuch lamentable defects I find, ſo that it is not poſſible for me to give ſo *exact a Deduction* of ſuch ane *important* Matter as were to be *wiſhed*. Tho, I doubt not, if it had been clearly and fully deduced, it might have brought great *Light* to many things about our *Reformation*, which, now, ſo far as I know, are buried in Obſcurity. Any man may readily imagine how ſenſible *one*, that would perform my preſent task, muſt needs be, of ſo great a diſadvantage: However, when we cannot have what we *would*, we muſt ſatisfy our ſelves the *beſt way* we *can*. And ſo I return to my purpoſe,

(*d*) Kn. 218. Spot. 140. Buch. 604.

purpoſe, which, tho I cannot diſpatch ſo *punctually* as might be deſired, yet I hope to do it *ſufficiently*, and to the *ſatisfaction* of all *ſober*, tho not, *nicely critical* Enquirers. To go on then.

By the aforementioned Letter, you ſee, *The Lords* of the *Congregation*, referr'd it to the *Wiſdom* of the *Engliſh Council*, to *foreſee and deviſe the Means and Aſſurances)* they are the very words of the Letter) how ane effectual *Confederacy* might be made, between them, for *Gods Cauſe*. Now let us reaſon a little upon the common *principles* of *prudence*, where *Matter of Fact* is ſo *defective*.

What was more natural for the *Engliſh Council* to *Require*, than, that (now that the *Engliſh* Reformation was perfected and legally eſtabliſhed, and the *Scottiſh* was only in forming) the *Scots* ſhould engage to tranſcribe the *Engliſh* Copy, and eſtabliſh their Reformation upon that ſame *foot*, *i. e.* receive the *Doctrine*, *Worſhip*, *Rites* and *Government* of the Church of *England*, ſo that there might be no difference between the *two* Churches, but *both* might be of the *ſame Conſtitution*, ſo far as the neceſſary diſtinction of the *two States* would allow? The point in Agitation was a *Confederacy* in oppoſition to *Popery*, and for the ſecurity of the Reformed Religion in *both* Kingdoms. It was obvious, therefore, to *foreſee*, that it would be the ſtronger, and, every way, the better ſuited to that great End, if *both*

Churches ſtood on *one* bottom: For who ſees not that *Different Conſtitutions* are apt to be attended with *Different Cuſtoms*, which in proceſs of time may introduce *Different Sentiments* and Inclinations? Who ſees not that the ſmalleſt *Differences* are apt to *create jealouſies, diviſions, croſs-intereſts?* And that there's nothing more neceſſary than *Uniformity* for preſerving *Unity*? Beſides,

Queen *Elizabeth* was, peculiarly, concerned to crave this. There's nothing more neceſſary to *ſupport* a *State*, eſpecially a *Monarchy*, than *Unity* of *Religion*. It was for the *Support* of her *State*, the Security of her Monarchy, that ſhe was to enter into this *Confederacy*. She was affraid of the *Queen* of *Scotland*'s pretenſions to the Crown of *England*; For this cauſe ſhe was *confederating* with the Queen of *Scotland*'s Subjects, that ſhe might have them of *her ſide*. It was her concern, therefore, to have them as much ſecured to her intereſts as poſſibly ſhe could: they were, then, at a great *Bay* without *her* ſuccour; and had referred it to *her* and *her Council*, to *foreſee* and *deviſe* the *terms* on which ſhe would grant it. And now laying all theſe things together, what was more natural, I ſay, than that ſhe ſhould demand, that they ſhould be of the *ſame Religion*, and their *Church* of the *ſame Conſtitution*, with the *Church* of *England*.

This politick was ſo very obvious, that 'tis not to be imagined, *ſhe* and her *wiſe Council* could overlook it; And tho it had been

been no where upon Record, that ſhe craved it, yet the common ſenſe of mankind would ſtand for its *Credibility*; what ſhall we ſay then, if we find it recorded by ane Hiſtorian, whoſe *Honeſty* is not to be queſtioned in this matter? And ſuch ane *one* we have, even *Buchanan* himſelf, tho he miſplaces it, and narrates it, a long time after it was done, and as it were only by the *by*.

The occaſion on which he records this, is, when in the year 1569. (the tenth year after this Confederacy between the *Scots* and the *Engliſh* was *concerted*, as I take it) the Earl of *Murray*, then *Regent*, had gone to the *Northern* parts of the Kingdom to ſettle matters there, Accounts were brought to him of the *Duke* of *Norfolk*'s Conſpiracy, which was ſo well compacted, and ſo deep laid, that it was judged morally impoſſible to diſappoint it; and *Murray*'s friends were earneſt with him to retreat in time, and *diſengage* himſelf of the oppoſite party, with whom he had hitherto *ſided*; and ſo when *Buchanan* comes to give the Hiſtory of this *juncture*, he, to find a juſt *riſe* for his Narration, returns no leſs than ten years backward, diſcourſing thus, *The State of* Engliſh *affairs oblige me to look back a little; becauſe, in theſe times, the intereſts of both Kingdoms were ſo twiſted, that the concerns of the* one *cannot be repreſented without the* other: *The* Scots, *ſome years before, being delivered from the* Gallican Slavery *by the* Engliſh *aſſiſtance*

Status Rerum *Anglicarum*, hic, nos paulum divertere cogit, quod eo tempore adeo utriusq; Regni prospera & adversa, conjuncta erant, ut, altera sine alteris explicari nequirent: *Scoti*, ante aliquot Annos, *Anglorum* auxiliis, e Servitute *Gallica*, Liberati, RELIGIONIS CULTUI ET RITBUS CUM ANGLIS COMMUNIBUS SUBSCRIPSERUNT: Ea subita rerum mutatio spondere videbatur *Britanniam* universam ab omni Domestico tumultu conquieturam. E continenti vero, *&c.* Buch. 714.

ance, had subscribed to the Religious Worship and Rites of the Church of England; *and that surprizing change, in Affairs, seem'd to promise,* to Britain, *quietness, and rest from all intestine Commotions, and Factions,* &c.

Here, you see, the thing is plainly and undeniably asserted: Yet, so careless (to say no worse) have all our Historians been, that not one of them mentions it, but he, and he does no more than mention it; and, to this minute, we are, generally, in the dark, when, how, by whom, and with what Solemnities it was done. *Buchanan's* words would seem to import that it was done after, *that* our *Deliverance* (as he calls it) was accomplisht. But not one word of it in the *Treaty* concluded at *Leith*, and proclaim'd *July* 8th, 1560. which succeeded immediately upon the back of that *Deliverance*; not one word of it (I say) in that Treaty, as it is either in *Buchanan*, *Knox* or *Spotswood*, or any other Historian, I have had occasion to see; neither have we any other *publick Transaction* or *Deed* that *mentions* it.

(e) Buch. 614. Kn. 284. Spot. 151.

I find it told by several Historians (*e*) that the *Earls* of *Morton* and *Glencarne* were sent

ſent to *England*, after that *our Deliverance*, to return thanks to Queen *Elizabeth* for her aſſiſtance: 'Tis poſſible it might have been done then; for, as *Spotſwood* has it, "After "the Profeſſors heard of the cold Enter-"tainment that Sir *James Sandilands*, who "went to *France* to give ane account of the "*Treaty*, had got at *that Court*, their minds "were greatly troubled; for, they were "ſenſible of their own weakneſs, and "doubtful of Support from *England*, if "*France* ſhould again invade, becauſe of "the Loſs the *Engliſh* had received in the "late Expedition; Neither, (ſays he) had "the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencarne*, who "upon breaking up of the Parliament, "were ſent into *England*, to render thanks "to the *Queen*, and to entreat the Conti-"nuance of her Favour, given any adver-"tiſement of *their* acceptance. If, upon this occaſion, Commiſſion was ſent to theſe two Earls, to *ſubſcribe*, in name of the reſt of the Proteſtants, to ſuch ane *Union* in *Religion*, it exactly anſwers *Buchanan*'s Account; but no ſuch thing is ſo much as inſinuated to have been done on that occaſion. For my part, I humbly offer it to be conſidered, whither it is not poſſible, that *Buchanan* intended not to lay any ſuch ſtreſs upon the word [LIBERATI] as thereby to import, that it was *after* the Accompliſhment of our *Deliverance*, that the *Scots ſubſcribed*: But, bringing in the whole matter, *occaſionally*, where he mentions it, and intending

iutending to diſpatch it in as few words as he could; he did nor ſtand *nicely* upon the wording of it. And if tis holds, the moſt Rational and Natural Account will be, that *Secretary Maitland*, and *Sir Robert Melvil*, who were ſent by the *Scottiſh Lords*, in the beginning of *November* 1559. to implore the *Queen* of *England*'s Aſſiſtance, were impowered to agree, in name of the *whole body*, to this *Union* of *Religion*, if it ſhould be demanded. That the *Secretary* had *power* to *treat*, and *agree to*, and *ſign* Articles, is certain; for, amongſt the Inſtructions given to the Commiſſioners for concluding the *Treaty* at *Berwick*, dated at *Glaſgow*, *Feb.* 10. 15$\frac{59}{60}$. I find this as one, (*f*)

(*f*) Kn. 236.

Item, *If it ſhall be deſired of you to confirm, for us, and in our Name, the things paſt and granted by our former Commiſſioner*, the young Laird of Lethington, *ye ſhall, in all points, for us, and in our Name, confirm the ſame, ſo far as it ſhall make either for the* WELL *and* CONJUNCTION *of the two Realms, or this* PRESENT CAUSE, *or yet, for the ſecurity of our part for fulfilling of the ſame* (*g*).

(*g*) Kn. 244.

This, I ſay, is one of the Articles of theſe inſtructions; from which it is evident, that *Lethington* had *ſigned* Articles in *England*; tho we are no where told what they were. And may it not paſs for a probable conjecture, that *that* concerning *Unity* in *Religious Worſhip* and *Ceremonies* was one of them? But *whenſoever*, or by *whomſoever* it was *done*, is not the *Critical Hinge* of the Con-

Controverſie. We have *Buchanan's* word for it, that it was *done*; and I hope, my *Presbyterian* Brethren will not haſtily reject *his Authority*; eſpecially conſidering, that his *Veracity*, in this matter is ſo much aſſiſted and made *credible* by the ſtrain of the Letter directed to *Secretary Cecil*, on which we have already inſiſted. Neither is this all, For

2. The *publick Thankſgiving*, and *Prayers* made with great *Solemnity*, in *St. Giles's Church* in *Edenburgh*, (*h*) after the *Pacification* at *Leith*, in *July* 1560, amount to no leſs than a fair Demonſtration of ane *intire Union* between the *two Nations* as to *Church Matters*, and Religion; for on that occaſion it was thus *addreſſed* to Almighty *God*, with the *common Conſent*, and as a *publick Deed* of our *Scottiſh Reformers*.

(*h*) Kn. 259, &c. *in the* Scot. *Liturgy*.

——*Seeing that nothing is more odious in thy preſence* (O Lord) *than is Ingratitude and Violation of ane* Oath *and* Covenant *made in thy Name*; *and ſeeing thou haſt made our* Confederates *in* England, *the* Inſtruments *by whom we are* now *ſet at this* Liberty, *and, to whom* in thy Name, *we have* promiſed mutual Faith *again*; *Let us never fall to that Unkindneſs* (O Lord) *that either we* declare *our ſelves* unthankful *unto them, or* Prophaners *of thy* holy Name. *Confound thou the Counſel of thoſe that go about to break* THAT MOST GOGLY LEAGUE CONTRACTED IN THY NAME; *And* retain *thou us ſo* firmly *together, by the power of thy holy Spirit,*

That

That Satan *have never power to ſet us again at* Variance *nor* Diſcord. *Give us thy* Grace *to live in that* Chriſtian Charity, *which, thy Son our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt *hath ſo earneſtly commanded to all the* Members *of his* Body; *that other Nations provoked by our* Example, *may ſet aſide all Ungodly War, Contention and Strife, and ſtudy to live in Tranquillity and Peace, as it becometh the* Sheep *of thy* paſture, *and the People that dayly look for* our *final Deliverance by the coming again of our Lord Jeſus, &c.* Thus it was *prayed*, I ſay, in great Solemnity, at that time; and *every Petition*, is a *Confirmation* of *Buchanan's Fidelity* and my *Aſſertion*. Further yet,

3. In the *Old Scottiſh Liturgy* compiled in theſe times, and afterwards uſed publickly in all the Churches, There is *a Thankſgiving unto God, after our Deliverance from the Tyranny of the* Frenchmen, *with Prayers made for the Continuance of the Peace betwixt the Realms of* Scotland *and* England, wherein we have theſe Petitions offered.

Grant unto us, O Lord, *that with ſuch Reverence we may remember thy Benefits received, that, after this, in our Default, we never enter into* Hoſtility *againſt the Realm and Nation of* England. *Suffer us never*, O Lord, *to fall to that Ingratitude and deteſtable Unthankfulneſs, that we ſhould ſeek the Deſtruction and Death of thoſe whom thou haſt made inſtruments to Deliver us from the Tyranny of Mercileſs Strangers: Diſſipate thou the Counſels of ſuch as Deceitfully travel to ſtir the hearts of the inhabitants of either*

ther Realm againſt the other: Let their malicious practices be their own confuſion; and grant thou of thy Mercy, that Love, Concord and Tranquillity may continue and increaſe amongſt the Inhabitants of this Iſle, *even to the coming of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *by whoſe glorious Goſpel, thou, of thy Mercy doſt* CALL US BOTH TO UNITY, PEACE AND CHRISTIAN CONCORD, *the full* PERFECTION *whereof we ſhall poſſeſs in the fullneſs of thy Kingdom,* &c.

Here is a *ſet* of *Demonſtrations* to the ſame purpoſe alſo: And now, let any man lay all theſe things together; The *Letter* to *Cecil*; The *Confederacy* betwixt *Scotland* and *England*; *Buchanan's* Teſtimony; and theſe *Thankſgivings* and *Prayers*, and then let him judge impartially whither or not, there is reaſon to believe, that, in thoſe days, there was a good Agreement between the *Scottiſh* and *Engliſh Proteſtants*, as to *Religion* and *Church Matters*.

Thus, I think, I have ſufficiently cleared that our Reformers, *Generally*, if not *Unanimouſly*, lookt upon the *Church* of *England*, as ſo *well* conſtituted, that they acknowledged *her Communion* to be a *Lawful Communion*. But before I proceed to other things I muſt try, if I can make any more advantage of what has been ſaid: And I reaſon thus,

Was there not here *truely* and *really*, a Confederacy, ane Oath, *A Solemn League and Covenant*, betwixt the *Scottiſh* and the

Engliſh

Engliſh Proteſtants? Were not theſe *Engliſh* Proteſtants, then, *united* in *that Society*, which, at that time, was, and, ever ſince, hath been called *The Church of England?* And was not the *Church of England* of that ſame very conſtitution, *then*, that it was of in King *Charles the Firſt* his time, for example, *Anno* 1642? But if ſo, then, I ask again, was not this *Solemn League and Covenant*, made, thus, by our Reformers with *their Brethren* in *England*, as much deſigned for the Security, the Defence, the Maintainance, of *the Church of England*, as then by Law eſtabliſhed, as for the Eſtabliſhment of our Reformation? Did not our *Reformers promiſe Mutual Faith* to the *Engliſh*, as well as the *Engliſh promiſed to them*? Would it have been conſiſtent with the mutual bonds and obligations of this Confederacy, this *Solemn League and Covenant*, for the *Scottiſh Reformers*, to have raiſed ane Army, at that time, againſt Queen *Elizabeth* to *invade* her Dominions, in order to *ruine* the *Church of England*? I cannot imagine, any ſober perſon can grudge to grant me this much alſo. But if this be granted, then I ask in the third place, Did not that *Solemn League and Covenant*, made by *our Reformers*, with *thoſe* of the *Church* of *England*, run in a direct oppoſition to the *Solemn League and Covenant*, made by our *Scottiſh Presbyterians* with a *Factious Party* in *England*, for *deſtroying* the *Church* of *England*, in King *Charles* the Firſt's time? Nay did not our *Scottiſh Presbyterians*

in

in that King's time, by entering into that *Solemn League and Covenant*, directly, and effrontedly, *break* through *the Charge and Commandment*, which *our Reformers left* to *their Poſterity*, That the *Amity* betwixt the *Nations, in God contracted and begun, might by them, be kept inviolate for ever*? Nay, further yet, did not our *Reformers* ſolemnly *pray* againſt thoſe who made the *Solemn League and Covenant* in the days of King *Charles* the Firſt? Did they not addreſs to God, that he would *diſſipate their Counſels*, and *let their Malicious Practices be their own Confuſion*? And now, let the world judge what rational pretences theſe *Presbyterians*, in that *Holy Martyr's* time, and, by conſequence, our *preſent Presbyterians*, can make for their being the *only true* and *genuine Succeſſors* of *our Firſt Reformers*? Expecting ſolid and ſerious Anſwers to theſe Queſtions,

I ſhall now advance in the proſecution of my main undertaking on this Head, which was to ſhew, how our Reformers agreed with the *Church* of *England* in ſeveral momentous matters Relative to the Conſtitution and Communion, the Government and Polity of the Church, *&c.* But becauſe I have inſiſted ſo long on this general one, which I have juſt now taken leave of, I ſhall only inſtance in two or three more, and diſpatch them as ſpeedily as I can.

2. Then, it is evident, and undeniable, that our *Scottiſh* Proteſtants, for ſome years, uſed

uſed the *Liturgy* of the *Church* of *England* in their *publick Devotions*. Indeed,

The very firſt publick ſtep, towards our Reformation, made by the *Lords of the Congregation*, was to appoint this *Liturgy* to be uſed: It was ordered upon the third day of *December*, 1557. as both *Knox* and *Calderwood* have it. (*a*) Take the Ordinance in *Knox* his words: *The Lords and Barons profeſſing Chriſt Jeſus conveened frequently in Counceel, in the which, theſe Heads were concluded.* Firſt, *It is thought expedient, adviſed and ordained, That in all Pariſhes of this Realm, the* Common Prayer *be* read, *weekly, on Sunday, and other Feſtival days, publickly, in the Pariſh Churches, with the* Leſſons *of the Old and New Teſtament, conformable to the Book of Common Prayers: And if the Curates of the Pariſhes be qualified, that they read the ſame; And if they be not, or if they refuſe, that the moſt qualified in the Pariſh uſe and read the ſame,* &c. (*b*) *Spotſwood* and *Petrie* give the ſame account. But ſuch is the *Genius* of Mr. *Calderwood*, that you are to expect few things, which may make againſt the *Presbyterian* Intereſt, *candidly* and *ſincerely* repreſented by him. For inſtance, in his overly account of this matter, he quite omits the mention of *other Holy days*, beſides *Sundays*.

(*a*) Kn. 112. Cald. 5.

(*b*) Kn. ib. Spot. 117. Pet. 192.

Theſe conſiſtent Teſtimonies of all thoſe four Hiſtorians, are ſo full and plain a Demonſtration of the Matter of Fact, that I cannot foreſee ſo much as one Objection that can be made, or one Evaſion that can be

be thought on, unleſs it be, That it is not ſaid by any of them, that it was the *Book* of the *Common Prayers* of the *Church of England*. But this difficulty is ſoon removed. For

1. It was either the *Book* of *the Common Prayers* of the *Church* of *England*, or the *Genevian Liturgy*: For we no where read of a *Third*, ever pretended to have been uſed, in thoſe times, in *Scotland*: Now that it was not the *Liturgy* of *Geneva*, is plain; for beſides that it is utterly incredible, that there could have been ſo *many* Copies, of the *Genevian Form* in the *vulgar Language*, then, in *Scotland*, as might ſerve ſo *many Pariſh* Churches; Nay, that 'tis highly probable, there was not ſo much as *one*. Beſides this, I ſay, in the *Genevian Form*, which was afterwards uſed in *Scotland*, there is no *Order* for, no *footſtep* of, the obſervation of *other Holy-days*, beſides *Sunday*: Neither is there any *Order* in it for *Reading of Leſſons of the Old and New Teſtament*, except in the *Treatiſe* of *Faſting*, which was not compiled till the year 1565. There, indeed, *Leſſons* are appointed, ſuch and ſuch *Pſalms*, and ſuch and ſuch *Hiſtories*, in the *Old*, but not ſo much as *one Tittle* of the *New* Teſtament: In all the reſt of the *Book* a *deep Silence* about *Leſſons*; than which there cannot be a clearer Demonſtration, that the *Book* appointed to be uſed in *December* 1557, was not that of *Geneva*. Indeed

2. None of our *Presbyterian* Hiſtorians, neither *Petrie*, nor *Calderwood*, have the

 confidence

confidence to pretend, nay to insinuate the possibility of its being the *Common Order* of *Geneva*; which, 'tis very probable, they would have done, if they had had the smallest hopes of making it feasible. On the contrary, *Calderwood* seems fairly to acknowledge, that it was the *English Liturgy*; but then this acknowledgement lies at such a distance from the year 1557. that, no doubt, he thought himself pretty secure, that few Readers would reflect upon it as an acknowledgment; he doth not make it till he comes to the year 1623, when he had occasion to tell how the use of the *English Liturgy* was brought into the *New College* of *St. Andrews*. Take it in his own words (c) *Upon the* 15*th of* January, *Master* Robert Howie, *Principal of the New College of* St. Andrews, *Doctor* Wedderburn, *and Doctor* Melvin, *were directed by a Letter from Doctor* Young, *in the Kings Name, to use the* English *Liturgy, Morning and Evening, in the New College, where all the Students were present at Morning and Evening Prayers: Which was presently put in execution; notwithstanding they wanted the warrant of any General Assembly, or of any* CONTINUED PRACTICE OF THE FORM *in time, by-past, since the Reformation.* Where, you see, he lays the stress of his Argument against it, on its not having had *a continued Practice*, since the Reformation, which is a clear concession that at the Reformation, it was in *practice*, tho that *practice* was not *continued*.

(c) Cald. 800.

But

But whither he acknowledged this or not, is no great matter; we have ſufficient Evidence for the point in hand, without it: For

3. *Buchanan*'s Teſtimony, which was adduced before about the *Scots ſubſcriving to the Worſhip and Rites of the Church of* England, is unexceptionable: And yet it is not all. For

4. The Order, as you ſee it appointed by the *Lords* of the *Congregation*, Decem. 3d, 1557. is, That the *Book*, there authoriſed, be uſed in all Churches from that very date: but we find by the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, (*d*) That the *Order of Geneva* was only coming in to be uſed, *then*, in *ſome* of the Churches, *i.e.* 1560. And it had nothing like a public Eſtabliſhment, till the General Aſſembly holden at *Edenburgh*, *Dec.* 25, 1652. For *then* and not till *then*, *It was concluded, that ane Uniform Order ſhould be kept in the Miniſtration of the Sacraments, Solemnization of Marriages, and Burial of the Dead, according to the Kirk of* Geneva. So it is in the *Mſs.* and ſo *Petrie* hath it; (*e*) But *Nature* works again with *Calderwood*; For he has no more but this, *It was ordained that ane Uniform Order be kept in the Miniſtration of the Sacraments, according to the Book of* Geneva: (*f*) Omitting *Marriage*, and the *Burial of the Dead*; *Marriage*, I believe, to bear the *other* Company; for the *Burial of the Dead*, was the *Dead Flee*: Why? The *Book* of *Geneva* allowed of *Funeral Sermons*, as he himſelf acknowledgeth: (*g*) A mighty Superſtition! in

(*d*) Spot. 153.

(*e*) Pet. 233.

(*f*) Cald. 32.

(*g*) Ib. 24.

the opinion of Prerbyterians; ſo that it would have been *offenſive* to the *ſincerer ſort*, as he commonly calls thoſe of his own *Gang*, and inconſiſtent with the Exigences of the *Good Cauſe* to have let the world know, that *A General Aſſembly* had *ratified* the *Order* of that *Book* about *Burials*, and thereby had *juſtified* the *Superſtition* of *Funeral Sermons*. Nay

5. It ſeems this Act of the General Aſſembly, *Decem.* 1562. has not been ſtrong enough for turning out the *Engliſh Liturgy*, and introducing the *form* of *Geneva*: For if we may believe *Calderwood* himſelf, (*h*) The *General Aſſembly* holden at *Edenburgh*, *Decem.* 25. 1564. found themſelves concerned to make another Act, ordaining *Every Miniſter, Exhorter, and Reader to have one of the* Pſalm books, *lately printed at* Edenburgh, *and uſe the Order contained therein, in Prayers, Marriage, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments.* Where obſerve further, that *Prayers*, not mentioned in the Act, 1562. are now put in; from which it may be probably conjectured, that, as much as *Knox* was againſt the *Engliſh Liturgy*, he found many difficulties to get it laid aſide; ſo many that, it has not only been uſed by ſome (few or many, I cannot tell) in the Miniſtration of the Sacraments, *&c.* after the Act 1562. But the Clergy have not found themſelves obliged to forbear the uſe of it, in the *publick prayers*; ſo that it was needful, in this Aſſembly 1564, to make a *New Act*, reſtricting

(*h*) Ib. 39.

ſtricting them both as to *Prayers* and *other Miniſtrations*, to the *Order* of *Geneva*. And if this holds, we have the *Engliſh Liturgy*, at leaſt, *ſeven Years* in continued practice in *Scotland*. But it is enough for my main purpoſe, that it was once univerſally in uſe, which I think cannot be denied by any who impartially conſiders what hath been ſaid: And now

6. May not I adduce one Teſtimony more? 'Tis true it is of a latter date: But it is very plain and poſitive, and what I have adduced already is ſecurity enough for its Credibility: It is the Teſtimony of the Compilers of our *Scottiſh Liturgy*, which made the great *Stir* in the year 1637. And was made one of the main pretences for the firſt Eruptions of that execrable Rebellion which enſued; The *Compilers* of that *Liturgy*, I ſay, in their *Preface* to it, tell us, *That it was then, known, that diverſe years after the Reformation we had no other Order for Common Prayer, but the* Engliſh *Liturgy*. A

Third Principle wherein our Reformers agreed with the *Church* of *England*, and which ſtands in direct contradiction to the Principles of our Presbyterians, is, that they own'd, *the Church had a great Dependance on the State*; *That it belong'd to the Civil Magiſtrate to reform the Church*; *That People might appeal from the Church, to the Civil Magiſtrate*, &c.

I am not now to enter into the Controverſie concerning the *Dependence* or *Indepen-*

dence of the *Church* upon the *State*, that falls not within the compaſs of my preſent Undertaking: Neither will I ſay that our Presbyterians are in the *wrong*, as to the *true ſubſtantial* Matter agitated in that Controverſie. All I am concerned for at preſent, is that, in theſe times, *thoſe* of the *Church* of *England* own'd a great *Dependence* of the *Church* upon the *State*, and that our Reformers agreed with them in *that Principle*; and I think I may make ſhort work of it: For

That that was the *Principle* of the *Church* of *England* in theſe times, I think no man can readily deny, who knows any thing about her, at, and a good many years after, her Reformation. All my buſineſs is to ſhew, that our Reformers were of that *ſame Principle*. And I think that ſhall be eaſily made to appear: For

As to the *Civil Magiſtrates power* to reform the Church what can be more clear, than the *Petition* preſented to the Queen Regent, in *November* 1558? There our Reformers tell her Majeſty, (*i*) that *Knowing no Order placed in this Realm, but her Majeſty and her grave Council, ſet, to amend, as well, the Diſorder Eccleſiaſtical, as the Defaults in the Temporal Regiment, they do moſt humbly proſtrate themſelves, before her Feet, asking Juſtice, and her Gracious Help againſt ſuch as falſely traduced and accuſed them as Hereticks and Schiſmaticks*, &c. In which Addreſs, we have theſe two things very clear and evident,

(*i*) Kn. 130. Spot. 118.

evident, 1. That they own'd, that the *Civil* Magiſtrate, had *power* to amend *Eccleſiaſtical Diſorders*, as well as *Temporal*. 2. That, in conſequence of this, they applied to the *Civil* Magiſtrate for *protection* againſt the *purſuits* of the *Church*. And in their *Proteſtation* given in to the Parliament about that ſame time, "*They moſt humbly beſeech the* "*ſacred Authority to think of them as faithful* "*and obedient Subjects, and take them into its* "*Protection, keeping that Indifferency, which* "*becometh Gods Lieutenants to uſe, towards thoſe,* "*who, in his Name, do call for Defence againſt* "*Cruel Oppreſſors*, &c. Meaning the then Church-men (*k*) Indeed,

(*k*) Knox. 136. Spot. 120.

None clearer for this than *Knox* himſelf, as is to be ſeen fully in his *Appellation from the cruel and moſt unjuſt Sentence, pronounced againſt him by the Falſe Biſhops and Clergy of* Scotland, *(as he himſelf names it)* For there (*l*) He lays down and endeavours to prove this Aſſertion, *That it is lawful to Gods Prophets, and to Preachers of Chriſt Jeſus to appeal from the Sentence and Judgment of the viſible Church, to the Knowledge of the temporal Magiſtrate, who, by Gods Law, is bound to hear their Cauſes and to defend them from Tyranny.* And in that ſame Appellation, (*m*) he largely aſſerts and maintains the *Dependance* of the *Church* upon the *State*: *The Ordering and Reformation of Religion, with the inſtruction of Subjects* (he ſays) *doth appertain eſpecially to the Civil Magiſtrate.* For why? "*Moſes* had "great power in the Matters of Religion:

(*l*) Kn. Ap. 4.

(*m*) p. 13, 14, 15, 16, &c.

" God revealed nothing particularly to " *Aaron* (the Church-man) but commanded " him to depend from the Mouth of *Moſes* " (the Civil Magiſtrate): *Moſes* was im- " powered to ſeparate *Aaron* and his *Sons* for " the Prieſthood: *Aaron* and his *Sons* were " ſubject to *Moſes*. *Moſes* was ſo far pre- " ferred to *Aaron*, that the *one* commanded, " the *other* obeyed. The *Kings* of *Iſrael* " were commanded to read the Book of the " Law all the days of their Lives, not only " for their own private Edification, but for " the publick preſervation of Religion; ſo " *David*, *Solomon*, *Aſa*, *Jehoſophat*, *Hezekiah*, " *Joſiah* underſtood it, and intereſted them- " ſelves in the Matters of the Church, ac- " cordingly. From which it is evident, (ſaith he) *That the Reformation of Religion, in all points, together with the Puniſhment of falſe Teachers, doth appertain to the power of the Civil Magiſtrate: For what God required of them, his juſtice muſt require of others, having the like Charge and Authority; what he did approve in them, he cannot but approve in all others, who with like Zeal and Sincerity do enterprize to purge the Lords Temple and Sanctuary.* Thus *Knox* (I ſay) in that *Appellation*. I do not concern my ſelf with the truth or falſhood of his poſitions; neither am I to juſtify or condemn his Arguments: All I am to make of it is, to ask my Presbyterian Brethren, whither theſe *Principles* of *Knox*'s ſuit well with *declining* the *Civil* Magiſtrate as one *incompetent Judge* in Eccleſiaſtical matters? with

refuſing

refuſing to appear before him *prima inſtantia* for the *tryal* of *Doctrines preacht* in the *Pulpit*? with the famous diſtinction of the Kings having *power* about Church matters *Cumulative* but not *Privative*? *&c.* I am affraid it ſhall be hard enough to reconcile them.

I ſhall only inſtance in one principle more, which ſeems to have been common to *our*, and the *Engliſh Reformers*, but it is one of very weighty conſequence and importance to my main deſign: It is

Fourthly, That Excellent *Rule* of *Reformation*, viz. *That it be done according to the word of God, interpreted by the Monuments and Writings of the Primitive Church.* That antient, ſolid, approven *Rule*: That *Rule* ſo much commended by that excellent Writer *Vincentius Lirinenſis*: That *Rule* which the common ſenſe of mankind cannot but *juſtify*, when it is conſidered ſoberly and ſeriouſly, without partiality or prejudice. A *Rule*, indeed, which, had the *Reformers* of the ſeveral *Churches*, followed *unitedly* and *conſcientiouſly*, in thoſe times, when the Churches in the *Weſtern* parts of *Europe* were a Reforming; we had not had ſo many *different Faiths*, ſo many *different Modes of Worſhip*; ſo many *different Governments*, and *Diſciplines*, as, Alas! this day, *divide* the *Proteſtant Churches*, and

Aliter namque illam (*ſcripturam*) Novatianus aliter Sabellius, aliter Donatus, &c. exponit. Atqui idcirco multum neceſſe eſt, propter tantos tam varij erroris anfractus, ut Propheticæ & Apoſtolicæ interpretationis linea, ſecundum Eccleſiaſtici & Catholici ſenſus Normam dirigatur. Vin. Lir. Commonit. cap. 2.

and by conſcquence, *weaken* the *Proteſtant Intereſt*: A *Rule*, which had the pretenders to Reformed Religion, in *Scotland*, ſtill ſtood by, we had not, poſſibly, had ſo many *horrid Rebellions*, ſo many *unchriſtian Diviſions*, ſo many *unaccountable Revolutions*, both in *Church* and *State*, as, to our ſad Experience, have, in the *Reſult*, ſo *unhing'd* all the Principles of *natural juſtice and honeſty*, and *diſabled*, nay, *eaten out* the *principles* of *Chriſtianity* amongſt us, that now we are not *diſpoſed* ſo much for any thing as downright *Atheiſm*. But were our *Reformers*, indeed, for this *Rule*? That ſhall be demonſtrated by and by, when we ſhall have occaſion to bring it in again as naturally, to which opportunity I now refer it: in the mean time, let us briefly ſum up all that hath been hitherto ſaid, and try to what it amounts.

I have, I think, made it appear, that, while our Reformation was a carrying on, and when it was eſtabliſhed *Anno* 1560, there was no ſuch Controverſie agitated, in the Churches, as that concerning the *indiſpenſible neceſſity* of *Presbytery*, and the *Unlawfulneſs of Prelacy*, concerning the *Divine Right* of *Parity*, or the *Unallowableneſs* of *imparity* amongſt the Governors of the Church. I have ſaid enough to make it credible, that our *Scottiſh* Reformers had no peculiar occaſions, opportunities, provocations, abilities, for falling on that Controverſie, or determining of it, more than the Reformers of other Churches: In conſequence

ſequence of this, I have further ſhewed, that, from all the monuments of theſe times, I have ſeen, not ſo much as *One* of our Reformers can be adduced, as aſſerting the *Presbyterian ſide* of this Controverſie. Laſtly, I have, I think, made it evident, that our Reformers went very much upon the *ſame Principles*, on which the *Engliſh* Reformers went, who ſtill continued *Epiſcopacy*; unqueſtionably, on *many Principles* of great weight and importance, as to the Conſtitution and Communion, the Government and Polity of the Church, which ſtaid in direct oppoſition and contradiction to the *Principles* of our *preſent* Presbyterians. And now, let any judicious and impartial perſon lay theſe things together, and then let him ingenuouſly determine, whether it be not highly incredible, that our Reformers were for the *divine inſtitution* and *indiſpenſible Right* of *Parity*; and the *Unlawfulneſs* of *Prelacy*, which is the *Principle*, at leaſt, the *Profeſſion* of our *preſent* Presbyterians. Yet after all this,

I muſt tell my Reader, that I have inſiſted on theſe things, ſo much as I have done, principally for ſmoothing the way for the Evidences I am yet to produce for the certainty of *my ſide* of the *Second Enquiry*. And I am content, that theſe things I have already diſcourſed, ſhould paſs for no more than *Rational Preſumptions*, till I have tried if *more ſtrength* can be added to them, and they can be rendered *more cogent* and *concluding* by

by a ſucceſſion of plain, poſitive, direct, and formal proofs of my Aſſertion: And, to engage my Readers attention, I dare adventure to promiſe him that, to as high a degree as the nature of the thing is capable of, at leaſt, can reaſonably bear. And ſo, without further addreſs, I thus proceed.

Before our Reformation was eſtabliſhed by Law, our Reformers *addreſſed* to the Government by ſeveral *Petitions*, that *Religion* and the *Church* might be *reformed*. I ſhall take notice of *Three*, all pertinent to my purpoſe. One of them is no where (that I have ſeen) ſet down at length; the other two are in *Knox* his Hiſtory.

That which is no where ſet down at length, is to be ſeen *abridged* in *Buchanan*, *Leſly*, and *Spotſwood*, (*a*) but with ſome little variation; For *Buchanan* has given that Article, which I am at preſent concerned about, according to his way, in general terms; Thus, *Ut Miniſtrorum Electio, juxta antiquam Eccleſiæ conſuetudinem, penes populum eſſet*, *Spotſwood* has tranſlated *Buchanan*'s words faithfully enough, in this matter, as he doth in many other things; but *Leſly* gives it a little more diſtinctly thus *Ut EPISCOPI deinceps, & PASTORES, illi, Dominorum ac Nobilium cujuſcunque DIOICESIS, hi, PAROCHORUM aſſenſione ac voluntate, ad BENEFICIA cooptentur.* That *this Petition* thus abridged by theſe *three* Hiſtorians was a *Petition* different from that which we have publiſhed at length in *Knox*, ſeems

(*a*) Buch. 586. Leſl. 504. Spot. 119.

ſeems unqueſtionable; for that which is in *Knox*, has not one ſyllable about the *Election of Miniſters*; and beſide, *Buchanan* fairly inſinuates, that there was another, *diſtinct* from that which he had abridged, tho not much *different*: For thus he diſcourſes (*b*) *Papani, Edinburgi, ad eadem FERE poſtulata quæ per Nobilitatem ad eam (Reginam proregem) ſunt delata, PENE paribus uſi ſunt Reſponſis.* Now if it had been the *ſame* Petition, why would he have ſaid, *ad eadem FERE poſtulata*, and *PENE paribus Reſponſis?*

(*b*) Buch. 587.

This I take notice of, that my Presbyterian Brethren may not have occaſion to *cavil*, at the Article as it is in *Leſly*, as if it were not *genuine*, becauſe it is not in the Petition recorded by *Knox*, and, from him (moſt imperfectly) abridged by *Calderwood*, their two great and *authentick* Hiſtorians. For, as for Mr. *Petrie*, he was ſo *wiſe*, as not to trouble himſelf with *either* of theſe *Petitions*; perceiving, belike, that *neither* of them was favourable to his beloved *Parity*. To proceed, now, with the *Article* as it is in *Leſly*.

If he has ſet it down faithfully, I think we have a *fair* account of the ſentiments of our Reformers, concerning *Mother Parity*; (*c*) ſo very *fair*, that he who *runs* may *read* it. The Queſtion then is, whither *Leſly* has faithfully tranſmitted this *Article* to us? And for the affirmative, I offer theſe Reaſons.

(*c*) K. Jam. Bas Dor. 160. *calls Parity the Mother of Confuſion*, &c.

1. There's

1. There's no reaſon to doubt of his *integrity* in this matter; he was a *zealous* Papiſt, and a *Biſhop* to boot: And it is evident, as he was *either* of theſe, it was not his *intereſt* to make our *Reformers* ſuch *friends* to *Epiſcopacy*, if they were not *ſuch*, really: For if they had not made that *Diſtinction* between *Biſhops* and *Presbyters*, if they had profeſſed the *Divine Right* of *Parity*, he had had good ground for accuſing them of *receding* from the *undoubted* principles, and *univerſal* practice of the *Catholick Church*, in all times, and in all places, in a point of ſo great weight and conſequence in the *Government* of the *Church*: Ane occaſion which one of his *Zeal* for his party would not probably have neglected to take hold of; far leſs would he have *lied* ſo palpably to *ſave* the *Reputation* of his *Adverſaries*.

2. As he had no temptation to *falſify* in this matter, ſo, he had all other Qualifications of a *credible Witneſs*. He lived in theſe times; he himſelf was a Clergy man, then; probably, he was a Member of that ſame *Convocation* to which the *Petition* was offered; and I think no man will doubt of his *Abilities* to comprehend ſuch a matter. Indeed

3. If he *forged* this Article, he was *ridiculouſly impudent* at *Forging*; for as he did it without any imaginable neceſſity, without any ſhadow of a degree of ſubſerviency to his Cauſe, ſo he put himſelf upon a neceſ-

ſity

ſity of *forging* more, even, a good long *Anſwer*, which, he ſays, was return'd to that *Article* by the *Convocation*, viz. "*That it was not reaſonable, they* "*ſhould alter the Method of* "*Electing Biſhops and Presbyters,* "*preſcribed by the Canon Law,* "*eſpecially in the time of the* "*Queens Nonage: Her Prero-* "*gative was intereſted in the* "*matter: She with the Popes* "*Conſent had power to nominate* "*the Prelates; and to take that* "*Power out of her hands without* "*her Conſent, or before ſhe came* "*to perfect Age, was notoriouſly,* "*dutifully to invade her Royalty.* Ane *Anſwer*, indeed, exactly *fitted* for the *Article*, as he hath tranſmitted it. But the truth is,

De Epiſcopis quoque ac Paſtoribus eligendis, æquum imprimis eſſe, ut, quæ jure canonico cavenţur, ea ſarta tecta maneant, neque novi quid, abrogatis veteribus, ullo modo ſurrogetur, id quoque prudentur adjecerunt, cum prælatorum Electio, in Regia poteſtate, ſuffragante ſummo pontifice, eſſet, de ea, in tenella Reginæ ætate, contra, quiſquam ſtaturi, ſine aperta temeritatis nota, ac Regiæ poteſtatis imminutione, nullo modo poſſe, Leſl. 504.

4. That he neither *forged* the *Article*, nor the *Convocations Anſwer* to it, we have further undoubted Evidence; for I have ſeen ane *Old Manuſcript Scottiſh Hiſtory* (which I can produce if I am put to it) which exactly agrees with *Leſly*, as to the *Article*; for thus it hath it, *The Election of the Biſhops and Kirkmen, to paſs, by the Temporal Lords, and People, of their Dioceſſes and Pariſhes.* And, *Buchanan*, upon the matter, gives that ſame account of the *Convocations Anſwer*, af-

Hoc etiam amplius, ad eam partem, quæ erat de Miniſtrorum Electione; in hoc genere Quæſtionum, aut juris Canonici, aut Concilii Tridentini Decretis ſtandum, Buch. 587.

firming,

firming, that, *As to the Election of Miniſters they anſwered, That ſuch Matters were to be regulated by the Canon Law, or the Decrees of the Council of* Trent.

5. Neither will it be found of any force, to ſay, that *Buchanan* has not the *Article*; nor *Spotſwood*, whoſe *intereſt* it was to have had it, if ſuch a thing had been, conſidering his Principles, and what was one of his principal deſigns in writing his Hiſtory. This is of no force, I ſay, for 1ſt as for *Buchanan*, it is evident from the whole *tract* of his *Hiſtory*, That he *aim'd*, principally, at Matters of *State*, bringing in *Church Matters* only by the *by*, as we ſay, ſo that it is no wonder, if he did not record them accurately, and with all the *preciſeneſs* of *Nicety*: And yet, even as he *ſumms* up the *Petition*, he has ſomething in it which plainly imports, the *Petitioners* had no thought to interrupt the Continuation of *Imparity*; for thus he puts the laſt Article, *If, by the Negligence of former times, ignorant or wicked men had been advanced to* Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, *they might be removed, and others ſubſtituted in their* Offices. In which words, 'tis plain, that as there had been HONORES, *Eccleſiaſtical Dignities*, and MINISTERIA, *different Offices* amongſt the *Clergy* before, ſo now, there was nothing like petitioning, for *abrogating* any of them. But that

Si per ſuperiorum temporum Negligentiam, indocti flagitioſive ad *honores* obrepſiſſent, ut iis a *Miniſteriis* Eccleſiæ remotis, alii ſufficerentur. Buch. 586.

that theſe *Dignities* might be better *beſtowed*, and theſe *Offices* better *provided*: The *Dignities* and *Offices* were to *continue*, no *Change* to be *made* but of the *Dignitaries* and *Officers*. 2. As for *Spotſwood*, as, I grant, it had been very proper for his purpoſe to have taken notice of the *Article* as it is in *Leſly*; ſo, that he took no notice of it, is no argument that *Leſly* was in the wrong; for, beſides that there is no colour of reaſon for diſcrediting one Hiſtorians accounts, becauſe another is ſilent about them; the truth is, whoſoever reads *Spotſwoods* Hiſtory, and compares it with the reſt of our Hiſtories, will find a very great many ſuch *Defects*: And we ſhall have a very clear, as well as a very conſiderable inſtance by and by, when we come to the *next* Petition. In the mean time, let me add another irrefragable Evidence (ſo I think) of *Leſlies integrity*, as to this *Article*. It is

6. That when our Reformers had carried the day, and ſo came to eſtabliſh the Government of the Church; they exactly *reduced* to *practice*, that which they had *petitioned* for in the *Article*, in the *Election* of *Superintendents*; as is clear both from the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, and *the Form of Electing Superintendents*, as it is to be ſeen both in the *Old Scottiſh Liturgy*, and in *Knox* his *Hiſtory*.

In the *Fifth Head* of the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, it was appointed (*d*) *That the Council ſhould nominate the* Superintendents,

(*d*) Spots. 159.

or give Commiſſion to men of beſt Knowledge, and who had the fear of God, to do it; the Gentlemen and Burgeſſes of Towns, within the Dioceſſes, being always made privy to the Election. And

In the *Order* for *Electing Superintendents*, as 'tis both in the *Old Liturgy*, and *Knox*'s *Hiſtory* (e) we are told, that *the Council having given charge and power to the Churches of* Lothian, *to chooſe Maſter* John Spotſwood, *Superintendent, ſufficient warning was made, by publick Edict, to the Churches of* Edenburgh, Linlithgow, Sterling, Trenent, Hadingtown *and* Dumbar; *as alſo to Earls, Lords, Barons, Gentlemen, or others that had, or might claim to have, Voice in Election, to be preſent,* &c. This was done in the beginning of the year 1561. Now

(e) Kn. 289.

Lay theſe two things together, and what is the Reſult? what elſe, than *giving power to the Nobility and Gentry of the Dioceſs to elect their Biſhop, according to the Article,* as *Leſly* hath it in his *Breviate* of the *Petition?* Thus we have found *Leſly* honeſt, and his account *juſt* and *genuine*; and thereby (as I take it) this propoſition fairly demonſtrated, that our Reformers were ſo far from being Preſbyterian, ſo far from being for the *divine inſtitution,* and *indiſpenſable right* of *Parity,* that, on the contrary, they were *clear* for *Imparity,* for *Epiſcopacy.* But this is not all.

The *Second Petition* which I mentioned, and which is ſet down in full form in *Knox*'s Hiſtory,

Hiſtory, tho it doth not name *Biſhops*, is every whit as *plain* and *decretory*, that the ſentiments of our Reformers were no ways *inimicous* to Prelacy (if I may make uſe of a word made *faſhionable*, by a Nobleman of the *faſhion.*) But, on the contrary, that they were plainly for it. This I take to be ſo *fully* and *fairly* expreſt in the *fifth* and laſt *Article* of that *Petition*, that I will here tranſcribe it word for word. (*f*) (*f*) Ib. 131.

"*Laſtly, we require moſt humbly, that the* "*wicked, ſlanderous and deteſtable Life of Pre-* "*lates, and of the State Eccleſiaſtical, may be* "*reformed, that the people, by them, have not* "*occaſion* (*as of many days* they have had) *to* "*contemn their Miniſtery, and the preaching* "*whereof they ſhould be Meſſengers. And if* "*they ſuſpect, that we rather envy their Ho-* "*nours, or covet their Riches and Poſſeſſions,* "*than zealouſly deſire their Amendment and* "*Salvation, we are content, that not only the* "*Rules and Precepts of the New Teſtament, but* "*alſo* THE WRITINGS *of the* ANCIENT "FATHERS, *and the* GODLY *and* AP-"PROVED LAWS *of* JUSTINIAN *the* "EMPEROR, *decide the Controverſie betwixt* "*us and them: And if it ſhall be found, that,* "*either malevolently, or ignorantly, we ask more,* "*than theſe fore-named have required and con-* "*tinually do require, of able and true Miniſters* "*in Chriſts Church, we refuſe not Correction, as* "*your Majeſty, with right Judgment, ſhall think* "*meet: But if all the fore-named ſhall condemn,* "*THAT which we condemn; and approve*

"*THAT which we require; then we moſt*
"*earneſtly beſeech your Majeſty, that, notwith-*
"*ſtanding the long Cuſtom which they have had*
"*to live at their luſt, they be compelled either to*
"*deſiſt from Eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtration, or*
"*to diſcharge their Duties, as becometh True*
"*Miniſters. So that, the GRAVE and GOD-*
"*LY FACE of the PRIMITIVE CHURCH*
"*being REDUCED, Ignorance may be expelled,*
"*true Doctrine and good Manners, may once*
"*again appear in the Church of this Realm.*

Here our Reformers lay down a *complexe Rule*, according to *which* they *crave* the *Church*, and the *Eccleſiaſtical State* may be *Reformed*: This *complexe Rule*, is made up of the *Rules* and *Precepts* of *the New Teſtament*, the *Writings* of the *Antient Fathers*, and the *Godly* and *Approved Laws* of the *Emperor* JUSTINIAN. This is that *ſolid, orthodox, proper*, and *adequate Rule* of *Reformation*, which I mentioned before; as *Vincentius Lirinenſis* his *Rule*, and the *Rule* wherein our Reformers *agreed* with the *Engliſh* Reformers: By this *Rule*, our Reformers are *content*, that *all* the *Controverſies* betwixt *them* and the *Papiſts*, be *decided*; they *refuſe* not *Correction*, if they ask *more* than this *Rule requires*; they *condemn* no *more* than this *Rule condemns*: This *Rule approves all* they are *asking*. In ſhort, they *require* no *more* than that according to *this Rule*, the *grave* and *godly Face* of the *Primitive Church* may be *reſtored*, as it was in JUSTINIAN's time; Let the *Eccleſiaſtical State* be *reduced* to that

Frame

Frame and *Conſtitution*, and the Clergy *live*, and *rule*, and *diſcharge* their *Truſts* and *Offices*, as the *Clergy* did *then*, and they are *ſatisfied*: And now, if theſe Reformers who *thus petitioned*, and, in their Petition, *thus reaſoned* and *agreed* to *ſuch* a *Rule* of Reformation, *were* for the *divine inſtitution* of *Parity*, and the *ſacred Rights* of *Presbytery*; nay if they were not, not only for the *Lawfulneſs*, but the *Continuance* of *Prelacy*; I muſt confeſs my *ignorance* to be very *groſs*, and ſo I *refuſe* not *Correction*.

For this *Evidence*, as I ſaid we are beholden to *Knox*, and to *Knox* only: 'Tis true indeed, *Calderwood* (g) gives us the *Abſtract* of this *Petition*, but he *conceals* and *ſuppreſſes* the whole *pith* and *marrow* of this *Article*, ſumming it up in theſe few *ill-complexion'd* words, *That the ſlanderous and deteſtable life of the Prelates, and the State Eccleſiaſtical may be reformed*; which, at firſt view, one would imagin, lookt *kindly* towards *Presbytery*; but I am not ſurprized to find him *thus* at his *Tricks*; 'tis but according to his *Cuſtom*: To have ſet down the *full* Article, or to have abridged it *ſo* as that its *force* and *purpoſe* might have been *ſeen*, had been to *diſſerve* his *Cauſe*, and do ane *ill Office* to his *Idol*, *Parity*. And *Petrie* (as I have ſaid) was ſo *wiſe*, as not to *touch* it at all, leſt it had *burnt* his *Fingers*: but that Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* ſhould have *overlookt* it both in his Hiſtory, and in his *Refutatio Libelli*, *&c.* ſeems very ſtrange. For my

(g) Cal. 5

part I ſhould rather think we have not his Hiſtory *intire*, and as he deſign'd it for the Preſs (for which, I have heard other very pregnant preſumptions) than that ſo great a man was guilty of ſo great ane *Oſcitancy*. But whatever be of this, *Knox* has it, and that is enough; and *Calderwood* has abridged it, and that's more than enough for my Preſbyterian Brethren.

The *Third Petition* which I promiſed to adduce, is *that* which was preſented to the Parliament which eſtabliſhed the Reformation *Anno* 1560. for which we are obliged to *Knox* alone alſo; at leaſt, ſo far as the preſent Argument is concerned. (*h*) For tho both *Spotſwood* and *Petrie* (*i*) make mention of the Petition or Supplication, yet neither of them has recorded that which I take notice of; and *Calderwood* is ſo accurate ane Hiſtorian, as to take no notice of the Petition. That which I take notice of in it, as it is in *Knox*, is, That when our Reformers came to crave the Reformation of the *Eccleſiaſtical State*, they beſpoke the Parliament thus. *And leſt that your Honours ſhould doubt in any of the premiſſes* (they had affirmed before, That the Doctrine of the *Roman* Church contained many peſtiferous errors; that the Sacraments of Jeſus Chriſt were moſt ſhamefully abuſed and profaned by the *Roman* Harlot; that the true Diſcipline of the antient Church, amongſt that Sect, was utterly extinguiſht; and that the Clergy, of all men within the Realm, were moſt corrupt

(*h*) Kn. 261.
(*i*) Spot. 150. Pet. 219.

rupt in life and manners, &c.) *we offer our ſelves evidently to prove, that in all the* Rabble *of the* Clergy, *there is not one Lawful Miniſter, IF GODS WORD, THE PRACTICES OF THE APOSTLES, THE SINCERITY OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH, AND THEIR OWN ANCIENT LAWS SHALL JUDGE OF THE ELECTION.* Here, I ſay, our Reformers inſiſt on that ſame very Rule, for finding if there be Corruptions in, and by conſequence for reforming of, the Church, on which they inſiſted, in the aforementioned Petition; from which, 'tis evident, they perſiſted of the ſame ſentiments, and 'tis eaſy to draw the ſame inferences.

Such were the ſentiments of our *Scottiſh* Reformers, before the Reformed Religion had the countenance of the Civil Government, and Acts of Parliament on its ſide, and was made the National Religion. Let us try next what kind of Government they did eſtabliſh, when they had got Law for them? Whither they eſtabliſhed a Government that was to be managed by Miniſters *acting* in *Parity*, or in *Imparity*? And, here, I think, the Controverſy might very ſoon be brought to a very fair iſſue. The *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, the Acts of many General Aſſemblies, the Acts of many Parliaments, Both, without interruption; the unanimous Conſent of Hiſtorians, and the uncontroverted Practice of the Church for many years; all concurring to this Aſſertion.

That the firſt Eſtabliſhment was of a Government, which was to be managed by *Superintendents*, and *Parochial Miniſters*, *Elders* and *Deacons*, acting in *Subordination*, not in a *State* of *Parity* with, but in a *State* of *inferiority* in *Power* and *Juriſdiction* to theſe *Superintendents*. This Eſtabliſhment, I ſay, is ſo clear and undoubted from all theſe *fountains*, That no more needed be ſaid upon the whole Argument. But becauſe our Presbyterian *Hiſtorians* and *Antiquaries*,, tho they cannot *deny* the thing, do yet endeavor with all their *Might* and *Cunning* to *intricate* it, and *obſcure* it; I ſhall, further, undertake two things.

I. I ſhall give the world a fair proſpect of the *power* of *Superintendents*, as they were, then, eſtabliſhed, and of the *Diſparities* betwixt *them* and *Pariſh Miniſters*.

II. I ſhall endeavour to diſſipate theſe *Miſts*, whereby our Presbyterian Brethren are ſo very earneſt to involve and darken this Matter. As for the

I. The world may competently ſee, that *Superintendents* as eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*, at the Reformation, had a conſiderable *ſtock* of Prerogatives, or Preheminencies (call them as ye will) which raiſed them far above other Churchmen, far above the allowances of that *Parity*, our Presbyterian Brethren contend for ſo eagerly, from the following Enumeration.

1. They

1. They had *Diſtricts* or *Dioceſſes* of far larger extent than other Churchmen: Private Miniſters had only their private Pariſhes, and might have been as many as there were Churches in the Kingdom: But according to the *Scheme* laid down by our Reformers in the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, *Head* 5. (*a*) only ten or twelve Superintendents were deſign'd to have the *Chief Care* (as it is worded in the Prayer at the Admiſſion of a Superintendent) of all the Churches within the Kingdom: Indeed ten are only, there, deſign'd, but it was becauſe of the ſcarcity of qualified men, as we ſhall learn hereafter.

(*a*) Spot. 158.

2. As they had larger *Diſtricts* than Pariſh Miniſters, ſo, there were correſpondent *Specialities* in their Election. Pariſh Miniſters were to enter to ſuch Churches as had Benefices, by *preſentation* from the *Patron*, and *Collation* from the *Superintendent*, as is evident from *Act* 7. *Parl.* 1. *Jam.* 6. and many *Acts* of *Aſſemblies*, as ſhall be fully proven afterward. If they were to ſerve where the Benefice was actually poſſeſſed by a Papiſt, they were to be *choſen* by the *People* of the Congregation, by the appointment of the Firſt Book of Diſcipline, *Head* 4. (*b*) But the *Election* of *Superintendents* was quite different; they were to be *nominated* by the *Council*, and *elected* by the *Nobility and Gentry*, &c. within their *Dioceſes*, as hath been already conſidered.

(*b*) Ib. 154.

3. There

3. There was as great a difference in the matter of *Depoſition*, if they deſerved it. *Pariſh Miniſters* by the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, *Head* 8. (*i*) were *depoſable* by the *Superintendent* of the *Dioceſs*, and the Elders of the Pariſhes, where they were Miniſters; but of this more hereafter. (*d*) But by that ſame *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, *the Superintendent was to be judged by the Miniſters and Elders of his whole Province, over which he was appointed; and if the Miniſters and Elders of the Province were negligent in correcting him, one or two other Superintendents, with their Miniſters and Elders were to conveen him, providing it were within his own Province, or Chief Town, and inflict the Cenſure which his Offence deſerved.* Of the Reaſonableneſs of this afterward.

(c) Ib. 168.

(d) Ib. 160.

4. There was as remarkable a difference in point of *Ordination*, which in the *then*, *Scottiſh ſtile* was called *Admiſſion*. Private Miniſters were to be admitted by their *Superintendents*, as we ſhall find afterwards. But by the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, *Head* 5. (*e*) *Superintendents were to be admitted by the Superintendents next adjacent, with the Miniſters of the Province.*

(e) Ib. 159.

5. In the caſe of *Tranſlation*, the General Aſſembly holden at *Edenburgh*, *Decem.* 25. 1562. *Gives power to every Superintendent, within his own bounds, in his Synodal Aſſembly, with conſent of the moſt part of the Elders and Miniſters of Kirks, to tranſlate Miniſters from one Kirk to another, as they ſhall conſider the Neceſſity;*

Chargiug

Charging the Miniſter ſo tranſlated to obey the Voice and Commandment of the Superintendent, (*f*) But according to the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline, Head* 5. (*g*) *No Superintendent might be tranſlated at the pleaſure or requeſt of any one Province, without the Council of the whole Church, and that for grave Cauſes and Conſiderations.*

(*f*) Mſs. Pet. 233.
(*g*) Spot. 160.

6. A ſpecial care was to be taken of his Qualifications and *Abilities* for ſuch ane important office, for thus it is appointed by the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline, Head* 5. (*h*) That *after the Church ſhall be eſtabliſhed, and three years are paſt, no man ſhall be called to the Office of a Superintendent, who hath not, two years, at leaſt, given a proof of his faithful Labours in the Miniſtry.* A *Caution* ſimply unapplyable to *Pariſh* Miniſters.

(*h*) Ibid.

7. He had a *living* provided for him by the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline, Head* 5. (*i*) about *five* times as much, yearly, as was alotted for any *private Miniſter.* And it is to be obſerved, that this was in a time when the Popiſh Biſhops ſtill brooked their Benefices. But when the Reſolution was, *Anno* 1567, to deprive all the Popiſh Clergy; it was agreed to, in the General Aſſembly, by the Churchmen on the one hand, and the Lords and Barons on the other, That *Superintendents* ſhould ſucceed in their places, as both the *Mſs.* and *Spotſwood* have it expreſly. (*k*)

(*i*) Ib. 157.

(*k*) Ib. 210. Art. 11.

8. *Superintendents*, by vertue of their Office, were *conſtant Members* of the *General Aſſemblies:*

Aſſemblies: Therefore the *General Aſſembly* holden at *Perth*, *June* 25. 1563. ſtatuted, *That every Superintendent be preſent the firſt day of the Aſſembly under the pain of* 40 *ſh. to be given to the poor without Remiſſion.* So it is in the Mſs. but *Petrie* has it barely, *That they ſhall conveen on the firſt day of every Aſſembly.* (*l*) And it ſeems, becauſe that puniſhment had not ſufficient influence on them, it was, again ordained by the *G. Aſſ.* at *Edenburgh*, *March* 6. 1573. *That they ſhall be preſent in the Aſſembly, the firſt day, before noon, under the pain of loſing one half of their ſtipend for a year, &c.* So both the Mſs. and *Petrie.* (*n*) But as we ſhall find afterwards, ſuch *preſence* of Pariſh Miniſters was not *allowed*, far leſs *neceſſary*.

(*l*) Pet. 237.

(*m*) Ib. 379.

9. It belonged to them to *try* thoſe who ſtood *Candidates* for the Miniſtery, thus, 1. B. of Diſc. Head 4. (*n*) *Such as take upon them the Office of Preachers, who ſhall not be found qualified therefore, by the Superintendent, are by him to be placed Readers.* And again, Head 5. (*o*) *No Child, nor perſon within the age of* 25 *years, may be admitted to the Office of a Reader; but ſuch muſt be choſen and admitted by the Superintendent, as for their Gravity and Diſcretion may grace the Function that they are called unto.* And the Aſſ. at *Edenburgh*, *Dec.* 15. 1562. Ordains, *That Inhibition be made againſt all ſuch Miniſters as have not been preſented by the people, or a part thereof, to the Superintendent, and he, after Examination and Tryal, has not appointed them to their Charges.*

(*n*) Spot. 157.

(*o*) Ib. 158.

So

So the Mſs. and ſo *Petrie*; (*p*) and *Spotſwood* (*p*) Pet. cites another Act of the General Aſſembly 233. at *Edenburgh* 1564. to the ſame purpoſe. (*q*) (*q*) Spot. 190.

10. As appears by that *Act* of the *Aſſembly, Decem.* 25. 1562. juſt now cited, and the 7 *Act Parl.* 1 *Jac.* 6. cited before; alſo *Superintendents* had the power of granting *Collations* upon *preſentations*. And the Aſſembly at *Perth*, holden in *June* 1563. appoints, *That when any Benefice chances to vaik, or is now vacant, that a qualified perſon be preſented to the Superintendent of that Province where the Benefice lyeth, and that he being found ſufficient be admitted*, &c. So I find it cited by the Author of *Epiſcopacy not abjured in Scotland.*

11. A *Superintendent* had *power* to plant Miniſters in Churches, where the people were negligent to preſent timeouſly; and indeed that *power* devolved much ſooner into his hands by the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline, Head* 4. (*r*) than it did afterwards into the hands of either *Biſhop* or *Presbytery*; for there it is ordered, *That if the people be found negligent in electing a Miniſter, the ſpace of forty days, the Superintendent with his Counſel may preſent unto them a man whom they judge apt to feed the flock*, &c. And as he had thus the *power* of *trying* and *collating* Miniſters, and *planting* Churches in the caſe of a *Jus Devolutum*. So (*r*) Ib. 154.

12. He had the *power* of *Ordination*, which, as I ſaid, was then called *Admiſſion*, as is evident from the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, (cap. 5.) and ſeveral Acts of Aſſemblies already cited.

13. All

13. All *Presbyters* or Pariſh Miniſters, once *admitted* to Churches, were bound to pay *Canonical Obedience* to their *Superintendents*. Thus in the Aſſembly at *Edenburgh*, *June* 30. 1562. *It was concluded by the whole Miniſters aſſembled, that all Miniſters ſhould be ſubject to the Superintendents in all lawful admonitions, as is preſcribed, as well in the Book of Diſcipline, as in the Election of Superintendents.* So the Mſs. And by that aforecited Act of the Aſſembly at *Edenburgh*, *Decem.* 25. 1562. *Miniſters tranſlated from one Church to another, are commanded to obey the Voice and Commandment of the Superintendent.* Indeed, it was part of ane Article preſented by the Church to the Council, *May* 27. 1561. That *ane Act ſhould be made appointing a* (civil) *Puniſhment for ſuch as diſobeyed or contemned the Superintendents in their Function.* (*s*)

(*s*) Kn. 297. Pet. 223.

14. He had *power* to *viſit* all the *Churches* within his *Dioceſs*, *and in that Viſitation* (they are the words of the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, *Head* 5. (*t*) *To try the Life, Diligence and Behaviour of the Miniſters, the Order of their Churches, the Manners of their People, how the Poor are provided, and how the Youth are inſtructed*, &c. And further,

(*t*) Spot. 159.

In theſe Viſitations he had *power*, particularly, *to take account of what Books every Miniſter had, and how he profited from time to time by* them. By *Act* of *Aſſem.* at *Edenburgh*, *June* 29. 1562. So 'tis in the Mſs.

15. He had *power* to *depoſe* Miniſters that deſerved it; as appears from the *Firſt Book*

of

of Diſcipline, Head 8. already cited. And by the *Aſſem.* at *Edenburgh, March* 6. 1573. It is ſtatuted that, *if any Miniſter reſide not at the Church where his Charge is, he ſhall be ſummoned before his Superintendent, or Commiſſioner of the Province, to whom the Aſſembly gives power to depoſe him,* &c. So the *Mſs.* and *Petrie.* (*w*)

(*w*) Pet. 378.

16. He had *power* to *tranſlate* Miniſters from one Church to another, as appears from the *Act* already cited, *Num.* 4. and by ane *Act* of the *Aſſembly* at *Edenburgh, June* 25. 1564. *It is concluded, that a Miniſter, being once placed, may not leave that Congregation without the Knowledge of the Flock, and Conſent of the Superintendent, or whole Church* : (*i. e.* a General Aſſembly) So the *Mſs.* and ſo *Pet.* (*v*) Theſe are all *powers,* methinks, ſcarcely reconcileable with ane opinion of the *Divine Right* of *Parity*; but there are more, and perhaps, more conſiderable, as yet to follow. For

(*v*) Ib. 340.

17. He had *power* to *nominate* Miniſters to be *Members* of the *General Aſſembly.* This is clearly aſſerted by the Acts of two General Aſſemblies : The firſt at *Edenburgh,* in *June* 1562. where it was ordained, *That no Miniſter leave his Flock for coming to the Aſſembly, except he have complaints to make, or be complained of, or at leaſt be warned thereto by the Superintendent.* So 'tis in the Mſs. and *Spotſwood* cites it in his *Refutatio Libelli,* &c. The other *Act* was made by the Aſſembly holden at *Edenburgh, July* 1. 1563. which I find

I find thus worded in the *Mſs.* fairly agreeing with *Spotſwood.* (x) *Anent the Order hereafter to be uſed in General Aſſemblies —— They all voted and concluded as followeth,* viz. *That if the Order already received, pleaſes not, by reaſon of the Plurality of Voices, it be reformed in this manner.*

(x) Spot. 219.

Firſt, That none have place to vote, except Superintendents, Commiſſioners appointed for viſiting the Kirks, and Miniſters brought with them, preſented as perſons able to reaſon, and having knowledge to judge; with the aforenamed ſhall be joyned Commiſſioners of Burghs and Shires, together with Commiſſioners of Univerſities. Secondly, Miniſters and Commiſſioners ſhall be choſen at the Synodal Convention of the Dioceſs, by Conſent of the reſt of the Miniſters and Gentlemen, that ſhall conveen at the ſaid Synodal Convention, &c. From which it is plain, that the *Superintendent* or *Commiſſioner* (who was a *temporary* Superintendent) *nominated* the Miniſters they brought with them to the Aſſembly; and that the *reſt* of the Miniſters, *&c.* had only a *power* of *conſenting*; and ſo it was, thereafter, practiſed unqueſtionably. And if there were need of more *Light*, it might be copiouſly received from the *Lord Glamis* his Letter to Mr. *Beza*, *Anno* 1576. wherein he tells him, that it had been the Cuſtom, ever ſince the Reformation, that the Superintendents, or Biſhops, ſtill

Poſt Reformatam Religionem Conſuetudine receptum eſt ut Epiſcopi, & ex Miniſtris Paſtoribus ac Senioribus, tot quot iidem Epiſcopi juſſerint, unum in locum conveniant, cum præcipuis Baronibus ac Nobilibus, Religionem veram profitentibus, & de doctrina & de moribus inquiſituri.

ſtill nominated the Miniſters, who met in the General Aſſemblies, than which, nothing can be more diſtinct and plain. And this Teſtimony is the more conſiderable, that it was not *Glamis* his own *private deed*, but that which was the *Reſult* of a conſiderable *Conſult*; as we ſhall learn hereafter.

This was ſuch a *Branch* of Epiſcopal *power* as mightily offended our *Presbyterian* Hiſtorians, it ſeems, for they have endeavoured to *obſcure* it as much as they could: Neither *Calderwood* nor *Petrie* mentions the *firſt* of theſe two Acts; they mention the *ſecond*, indeed, but how? *Calderwood* (*y*) huddles it up thus, *It was thought meet, for eſchewing of Confuſion, that this Order be followed — That none have place, nor power to vote, except Superintendents, Commiſſioners appointed for viſiting of Kirks, Miniſters, Commiſſioners of Burghs and Shires, together with the Commiſſioners of Univerſities. Miniſters and Commiſſioners of Shires ſhall be choſen at the Synodal Convention of the Dioceſſes, with conſent of the reſt of the Miniſters and Gentlemen, &c.* Leaving out intirely theſe words [*brought with them* (*i. e.* with the Superintendents and Commiſſioners of Kirks) *preſented as perſons able to reaſon, and having knowledge to judge*] whereby the *power* of the *Superintendents* and Commiſſioners for viſiting of Kirks, is quite *ſtifled*, and the whole *ſenſe* of the *Act* perverted; for what ſenſe is it, I pray, to ſay that the Miniſters were to be choſen by *conſent* of the *reſt* of the Miniſters, when you tell not

(*y*) Cald. 45.

who was to *chooſe*, or who they were, to whoſe *Choice* or *Nomination* the *reſt* of the Miniſters were to give *that conſent?* But it is no ſtrange thing with this Author to let *ſenſe* ſhift for it ſelf, if the *good Cauſe* cannot be otherwiſe ſerved. Neither is *Petrie* leſs unfaithful, for, he not only *draws* the *Curtain* over the whole *power* of the *Superintendent*, &c. ſo that you cannot have the leaſt *Glimpſe* of it from his account; But he intermixes *lies* to boot; only he *ſtumbles* not on *Nonſenſe*. He accounts thus, (z)

(z) Pet. 359.

Becauſe heretofore all Miniſters, that would come, were admitted to vote; (not one word of this, in the Narrative of the Act, as it is in the *Mſs.* or any other Hiſtorian; and it is directly contrary to the Act 1562. already mentioned; ſo that 'tis plain it is a figment of his own) *And now the Number is increaſed, and Commiſſioners of Shires were choſen in the Sheriff Court* (no other Hiſtorian, or Record I have ſeen, has one ſyllable of this either, tho 'tis probable enough it was ſo) *This Aſſembly makes ane Act of three parts, concerning the Admiſſion of Members*: 1. *That none ſhall have place to vote, but Superintendents, Commiſſioners for viſiting Churches, Miniſters and Commiſſioners of Shires and Burghs, choſen as follows, together with Commiſſioners of Univerſities.* 2. *Miniſters and Commiſſioners of Shires ſhall be choſen at the Synod of the Bounds, by the Miniſters and Gentlemen conveening there*, &c. Not, *with the conſent of the reſt of the Miniſters*, &c. you ſee, as *Calderwood* ridiculouſly

culouſly had it, but, *choſen by the Miniſters*, &c. without the leaſt ſyllable that might import the *Superintendents* having *any* (and far leſs the *principal*) *power* in that Election. This is clean work of it. Thus, I ſay, theſe two Hiſtorians of the *Party* treat this notable *branch* of the *power* which our Reformers thought reaſonable to confer on *Superintendents*; but we ſhall not want occaſions enough, for *admiring* their *ingenuity*. Return we now to our task.

18. They had *power* to hold *Dioceſan Synods: Ordains further* (they are the words of ane Act of the Aſſ. holden in *Decem.* 1562. as 'tis both in the *Mſs.* and *Pet.* (*a*)) *That the Superintendents appoint Synodal Conventions twice in the year*, viz. *in the months of* April *and* October, *on ſuch days of the ſaid months as the Superintendents ſhall think good.* Whereby two things appear, 1. That he had the ſole appointment of the day of meeting. 2. That he alone was *Præſes* of the meeting; indeed they are frequently, or rather conſtantly, called *his* Synods. (*a*) Ib. 233.

19. *Superintendents* had *power*, within their own bounds, to appoint *Dioceſan Faſts*, granted to them, by ane Act of the Aſſembly holden at *Edenburgh*, *March* 5. 1570. For there it is enacted, *That all Superintendents and Commiſſioners to plant Kirks, in their firſt Synodal Conventions, hereafter following, with the advice of their Miniſters, ſhall reaſon and appoint* publick Faſting, *if it ſhall be thought neceſſary*. So the *Mſs.* and *Petrie*. (*b*) (*b*) Ib. 369.

20. Another conſiderable inſtance of the *power* of *Superintendents*, was that of *modifying* or *aſſigning* to *Pariſh* Miniſters, their *Stipends* or *Livings*. This is clear from ane *Act* of the General Aſſembly, holden at *Edenburgh* on the ſeventh of *July* 1569. as it is both in (c) Ib. 365. the *Mſs.* and *Petrie* (r) wherein, *The Kirk preſently conveened found it moſt needful and expedient that all Superintendents, Miniſters, Exhorters and Readers, ſhould' have their own particular Aſſignations* (out of the Thirds of Benefices, as ſhall be more fully diſcourſed hereafter) *appointed them, to be received from the hands of the Labourers* reſpective, *or others addebted in payment of the Thirds. And therefore the Kirk in one voice by this their Act, gave their full power and commiſſion to every Superintendent and Commiſſioner, within their own bounds, with Advice and Conſent of their Synodal Conventions, to give to every Miniſter, Exhorter and Reader, particular aſſignations* ad vitam, *as they ſhould find the ſame expedient, under the Superintendents Subſcription, and Miniſters aforeſaid, with all Clauſes needful and expedient thereto; which ſhall be as ſufficient, as if the ſame were ſped by the General Aſſembly of the Kirk; and as concerning the Superintendents and Commiſſioners of Kirks, their Proviſion and Aſſignation to be made by the General Aſſembly.*

21. *Appeals* were to be made to *them* from *inferior Judicatories*. Thus, by the Aſſembly (d) Mſs. Pet. 237. Cald. 33. at *Perth* in *June* 1563. (d) *Concerning the Order of Appellation, it is ſtatuted and ordained, that, if any perſon find himſelf hurt, by any Sentence, given*

given by any Miniſter, Elders or Deacons (i. e. by any *Kirk Seſſion*, as we call them) *It ſhall be lawful for the perſon ſo hurt, to appeal to the Superintendent of the Dioceſs, and his Synodal Convention, within ten days, next after; and the ſaid Superintendent ſhall take Cognition, whether it was well appealed or not, and give his ſentence thereupon.* 'Tis true indeed, (and it was reaſonable) by the ſame Act, the perſon, if he thought himſelf injured, by the *Superintendents* ſentence, might *appeal* to the *General Aſſembly*. Nay,

22. If the *Superintendent* found it *Male Appellatum*, he had power of *Fining*; thus it is ordered by the ſame Aſſembly, *If the Appellant juſtifies not his Appellation, before the Superintendent and his Convention aforeſaid; then the Superintendent ſhall impute a pain upon the ſaid Appellant, as he ſhall think good, beſide the expence of the party.* That he had this *power* is all I am concerned for; let others judge whether it was *purely Eccleſiaſtical*. And as the *Superintendent* had this *power* of receiving *Appeals* made from *inferiour Courts*, ſo agreeably

23. He had the *power*, with the advice of his Synod, or ſuch of the Miniſters of his Dioceſs as *he* ſhould *chooſe* for that purpoſe, *to determine intricate Caſes of Conſcience or Government*. Thus, by the Aſſembly at *Edenburgh, Decem.* 25. 1564. (e) *It is ordained, that no Queſtions be proponed by any Brother, till the affairs of the Kirk, and the Order thereof be firſt treated and ended; and thereafter if any*

(e) Mſs. Pet. 341.

Brother have a Queſtion, worthy to be proponed, that the ſame be preſented in writ; and if the ſame requires haſty Reſolution, it ſhall be decided in the preſent Aſſembly before the end thereof; otherwiſe, the Deciſion of the ſame ſhall be referred to every one of the Superintendents, within whoſe bounds the Queſtion is proponed; and they, and every one of them, with a certain number of Miniſters, as they ſhall think meet to appoint, for aſſiſting, ſhall hear the Reaſonings of the aforeſaid Queſtions, and thereafter preſent the Reaſons in writ affirmative, *or* negative, *which every one of them ſhall report to the next Aſſembly.* Again, by the Aſſembly holden at *Eden.* in *July* 1568. (*f*) *It is ſtatuted and ordained, that Miniſters, Exhorters, Readers, or other perſons, hereafter, trouble not, nor moleſt, the General Aſſembly, with ſuch things as Superintendents may, and ought to* decide *in their Synodal Conventions; and if any chance to do hereafter, in the contrary, their Letters ſhall be rejected.* Which Act, as is obvious, extends both to Caſes of *Right* and of *Fact*; and extending to Caſes of *Fact*, it clears a little further, the former *Head* of *Appeals*, intimating fairly, that they were not to be made *per ſaltum*, neither yet *Delations*; but both in their proper *Gradation*, were to be brought, *firſt*, before the *Superintendent*, and by *him*, only, if he thought it needful, to be *advanced*, before the General Aſſembly: But moſt *home* to the preſent point, is the Act of the Aſſembly *March* 5. 1571. (*g*) by which it is ſtatuted, *That all Queſtions be firſt proponed*

(*f*) Mſs. Pet. 360. Spot. 219.

(*g*) Mſs. Pet. 369.

proponed to Superintendents, or Commiſſioners, in their Synodal Conventions, and, there, receive Solution; and if they *think them too hard, that they bring them to the General Aſſembly; but that no private Miniſters bring Queſtions to the Aſſembly* prima inſtantia.

24. It belonged to the *Superintendents*, particularly, to judge of *Divorces*; a point of great *intricacy*, as well as *importance*: Thus, I find, the Aſſembly at *Edenburgh*, *Decem.* 25. 1562. (as it is in the *Mſs.*) ordains, *That no Miniſters, nor others bearing Office in the Kirk, take in hand to cognoſce or decide in the Actions of Divorcement, except the Superintendents, and they, to whom they ſhall give ſpecial Commiſſion.*

25. It was a *branch* of their *power* alſo to *injoyn Pennance* to *greater Criminals*: So the General Aſſembly holden at *Edenburgh*, *June* 25. 1564. (as it is in the *Mſs.*) where it is thus, *Touching ſuch as relapſe the third time in any kind of crime, ſuch as Fornication or Drunkenneſs, it is ſtatuted and ordained, that no particular Miniſter admit ſuch perſons to Repentance, but that they ſend them to the* Superintendent *of the Dioceſs, where the crimes are committed, with information; who ſhall give them ſuch injunctions, as they think may make the offence to be holden in horror; but chiefly that they compel the Offender to ſatisfy where the Offences were made, more days than one, as the Superintendent ſhall think good.* And by the *Gen. Aſſ.* at *Eden. March* 5. 1571. (*h*) *It is ordained that Adulterers, and other ſuch ſcan-*

(*h*) Mſs. Pet. 363.

dalous perſons, ſhall hereafter be called by the Superintendent or Commiſſioner of the Province, to compear before their Synodal Convention, and there receive their injunctions. And accordingly we find the Cuſtom of the Church in thoſe times, particularly, in the Caſe of the *Counteſs* of *Argyle*, *Anno* 1567. She had been guilty of a mighty ſcandal in being preſent at the *Chriſtening* of the *Prince*, (afterwards, *James* the Sixth) which was performed after the *Popiſh manner*; ſhe behoved therefore to give ſatisfaction to the Church: And was ordered to do it, by the General Aſſembly, in ſuch manner, and at ſuch time, as the *Superintendent* of *Lothian*, (within whoſe bounds the Scandal was committed) ſhould appoint. So both *Spot.* and *Pet.* (*i*)

(*i*) Spot. 214. Pet. 359.

26. Another *branch*, was, to *reſtore Criminals* to the Exerciſes of their Offices, if they had any dependance on the Church, after they had performed their *Pennance*, and received *Abſolution*. Thus *Thomas Duncanſon*, Reader at *Sterling*, had fallen in the Sin of Fornication; for this he was ſilenced: He had performed his *Pennance*, and was *abſolved*. Then the Queſtion was put to the General Aſſ. met at *Eden. Decem.* 25. 1563. Whither having made publick Repentance, he might be *reſtored* to his *Office*? And the Aſſembly determined, *He might not, till the Church of* Stirling *ſhould make Requeſt to the Superintendent for him.* (*k*)

(*k*) Mſs. Pet. 242.

27. To

27. To the *Superintendents* was reſerved the *power* of *Excommunication*, in Caſes of *Contumacy*, &c. Thus it is ſtatuted by the Gen. Aſſ. at *Eden. July* 1. 1562. *That in Caſes of Contumacy the Miniſter give notice to the Superintendent, with whoſe advice Excommunication is to be pronounced.* So the Mſs. and both the Mſs. and *Petrie* have another long Act of the Aſſembly holden at *Eden. Sept.* 25. 1565. to the ſame purpoſe. (*l*)

(*l*) Pet. 346.

28. It belonged alſo to them to *delate Atrocious Criminals* to the *Civil* Magiſtrate, that condign corporal puniſhments might be inflicted on them. To this purpoſe, I find it enacted by a *Convention of the Kirk* (as it is called in the *Mſs.*) met at *Eden. Decem.* 15. 1567. to wait on the motions of the Parliament, *That Miniſters, Elders and Deacons make ſearch within their bounds, if the crimes of Inceſt or Adultery were committed, and to ſignify the ſame to the Superintendent, that he may notifye it to the Civil Magiſtrate.* Such was the power of Superintendents in the Government of the Church, and her Diſcipline. But becauſe, ſeveral things may have relation to the Church, tho not *formally* and *directly*, yet *reductively*, and by way of *Analogical Subordination*, their *power* extended even to *theſe* things alſo, I ſhall only inſtance in two.

29. Then, becauſe *Univerſities, Colleges* and *Schools*, are the *Seminaries* of *Learning*, and by conſequence *Nurſeries* for the *Miniſtry*; the *power* of *Superintendents* over them, was

was very conſiderable. Thus by the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, *Head* 5. (*m*) if, *e. g.* The *Principal*, or *Head* of any *College* within the Univerſity of St. *Andrews* died, the Members of the College, being ſworn to follow their Conſciences, were to nominate three of the moſt ſufficient men within the Univerſity: This done, the *Superintendent* of *Fife*, by himſelf, or his ſpecial *Procurators*, with the *Rector* and the *reſt* of the *Principals*, were to *chooſe* one of theſe three, and conſtitute him *Principal*. And when the *Rector* was choſen, he was to be *confirmed* by the *Superintendent*, (*n*) by that ſame *Book*: And again, by that *ſame Book* (*o*) The *Money* collected in every *College* for upholding the *Fabrick*, was to be counted and employed at the ſight of the *Superintendent*. Further, the Gen. Aſſ. conveened at *Eden. Jan.* 25. 1565. preſented this *Article* in a *Petition* to the *Queen*, *That none might be permitted to have charge of Schools, Colleges, or Univerſities*, &c. *but ſuch as ſhould be tryed by the Superintendents*. So 'tis in the *Mſs.* 'Tis true it was not granted at that time; but it ſhews the inclinations of our Reformers, as much as if it had been granted. And becauſe it was not granted then, it was propoſed again in the *Aſſ.* in *July* 1567. and conſented to by the Nobility and Gentry, and ratified by the *Eleventh Act* of the *Firſt Parliament* of *King James* the Sixth, in *December*, that ſame year. And accordingly we find the *Laird of Dun. Superintendent* of *Angus* and

(*m*) Spot. 162.

(*n*) Ib. 163.

(*o*) Ibid.

and *Mearns*, in *July* 1568. holding a *Viſitation* of the Univerſity of *Aberdeen*, and by formal ſentence turning out all the *Popiſh* Members. The very *air* and *ſtile* of the *Sentence*, as *Petrie* hath it *(p)* is a notable Evidence of the paramount *power* of *Superintendents*; for thus it runs, *I*, John Areskin, *Superintendent of* Angus *and* Mearns, *having Commiſſion of the Church to viſit the Sheriffdoms of* Aberdeen *and* Bamf, *by the Advice, Counſel, and Conſent of the Miniſters, Elders and Commiſſioners of the Church, preſent, decern, conclude, and for final Sentence pronounce, That Maſter* Alexander Anderſon, *&c.*

(p) Pet. 362.

30. Becauſe *bad Principles* may be *diſſeminated* by *bad Books*, and thereby both the *Purity* and *Peace* of the *Church* may be *endangered*; the *Reviſing and Licenſing of Books was committed to the Care of the Superintendents*, by the General Aſſ. holden in *June* 1563. whereby it is ordained, That *No work be ſet forth in Print, neither yet publiſhed in Writ, touching Religion or Doctrine, until ſuch time as it ſhall be preſented to the Superintendent of the Dioceſs, and adviſed and approven by him, or by ſuch as he ſhall call, of the moſt learned within his bounds*, &c. *(q)*

(q) Mſs. Pet. 237.

Thus I have collected no fewer than *Thirty Diſparities* betwixt *Superintendents*, as they were eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*, by our Reformers, and *private* Pariſh *Miniſters*; each of them a Demonſtration of inequality either of *power* or *figure*; perchance a more *nice* and *accurate* Enquirer may find out more:

more: But methinks theſe may be ſufficient for my purpoſe, which was to give the world a fair proſpect of the *Preheminence* of *Superintendents*, and of the *Differences* betwixt *them* and other *Churchmen*. And having thus perform'd the firſt part of my Undertaking, it is obvious to all who can pretend to be of the thinking part of mankind, that the ſecond part is needleſs. For if theſe 30 Diſparities amount not to ane invincible proof, that our Church, at the Reformation, was not govern'd by Miniſters *acting* in *parity*, I may juſtly deſpair of ever proving any thing. Yet becauſe I know many ſimple and leſs thinking people, are impoſed on by the *Noiſe* and *Duſt* our Presbyterian Brethren have raiſed about this matter; I ſhall proceed to the next thing I undertook, which was

II. To diſſipate theſe *Miſts*, wherewith our *Parity-men* are ſo very earneſt to involve and darken this *Prelatical power* of *Superintendents*. They may be reduced to theſe *Three*.

1. The Eſtabliſhments of *Superintendents* was only *temporary*, and for the *then* Neceſſities of the Church; *Superintendency* was not intended to be a perpetual ſtanding Office.

2. It was not the *ſame* with *Epiſcopacy*.

3. It was never eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament.

1. 'Tis pleaded that *Superintendency* was only deſign'd to be a *temporary*, not a *perpetual*

tual ſtanding *Office* in the Church. Thus *Calderwood* (*a*) ſpeaking of the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline, we may ſafely ſay* (ſays he) *the whole was recommended to be perpetually obſerved, except ſome few things, as the Office of Superintendents* — *whereunto they were forced, as they thought, by neceſſity*, &c. And in his Breviate of the firſt book of Diſcipline (*b*) he offers at a Reaſon why it was ſo. *They make a Difference, at this time among Miniſters, ſome to be Superintendents, ſome to be ordinary Miniſters; not becauſe Superintendents were of divine inſtitution, as ane Order to be obſerved perpetually in the Kirk, but becauſe they were forced only*, AT THIS TIME, *to make the Difference, leſt, if all Miniſters ſhould be appointed to make continual Reſidence in ſeveral places, when there was ſo great Rarity of Preachers, the greateſt part of the Realm ſhould be deſtitute of the preaching of the word.* And *G. R.* in his *firſt Vindication of the Church of* Scotland, printed at *Edenburgh* 1691. in *anſwer* to the *firſt* of the *ten Queſtions*, following *Calderwood* exactly, (as, indeed, he doth all alongſt; and it ſeems he has never read another of our Hiſtorians, ſo that he had ſome reaſon to call him, THE HISTORIAN, *ibid.*) delivers it thus: *'Tis true the Proteſtant Church of* Scotland *did ſet up Superintendents, but this was truly, (and declared ſo to be) from the Force of Neceſſity, and deſign'd only for that preſent Exigency of the Church*, &c. And more pointedly in his *true Repreſentation of Presbyterian Government*, printed at *Edenburgh* 1690:

(*a*) Cal. 25.

(*b*) Ib. 26.

prop-

prop. 18. where he lays it down as ane undoubted truth, *That Superintendency was only eſtabliſhed through neceſſity, when a qualified Miniſter could ſcarcely be had in a Province, &c.* And *Petrie* ſeems to aim at the ſame way of Reaſoning. Now (*c*)

(*c*) Pet. 218.

1. Suppoſing all this true, what ground have they gained by it? Do they not fairly acknowledge, that the *Prelacy* of *Superintendents* was eſtabliſhed at the Reformation? And is not that all I am concerned for? For the Queſtion is not whither *Superintendency* was deſign'd to be *perpetual* or *temporary*? but whither it was a *Prelacy*? And if it was a *Prelacy*, the *Church* of *Scotland* was not, *then*, govern'd by Miniſters *acting* in *parity*. The *Perpetuity*, or *Temporarineſs* of it doth not *affect* its *nature*: If it was a *Prelacy* at all, it was as *really* a *Prelacy*, tho it had laſted but for a *Day*, as it had been, tho it had laſted till the *Day of Judgment*. Juſt as our Preſbyterian Brethren were as *really* Addreſſers to K. *J.* by addreſſing *once*, as they ſhould have been, tho they had continued addreſſing to him till this very minute. This alone, in all conſcience, might be enough for diſcuſſing this Plea. Yet, that I may not offend the Party, by ſeeming to think ſo *meanly* of this *mighty* argument; I ſhall inſiſt a little longer, and conſider

2. If they have any ſufficient *Fund*, in the Records of theſe times, for this pretence? And

3. What

3. What Force or Solidity is in the reaſon inſiſted on to make this pretence ſeem plauſible? As to the firſt, *viz.* Whither there is any ſufficient *Fund* in the Records of theſe times for this pretence? All I have obſerved inſiſted on for this, is only one phraſe in the fifth Head of the Firſt Book of Diſcipline, AT THIS TIME. Take the whole period as it is in *Petrie*; for he cenſures *Spotſwood* for curtailing it. As *Petrie* has it, it runs thus. *If the Miniſters whom God hath endued with his ſingular Graces, among us, ſhould be appointed to ſeveral places, there to make their continual Reſidence, the greateſt part of the Realm ſhould be deſtitute of all Doctrine; which ſhould not only be the occaſion of great Murmur, but alſo dangerous to the Salvation of many; and therefore we have thought it a thing expedient* AT THIS TIME, *That from the whole number of Godly and Learned Men, now, preſently, in this Realm, be ſelected* Ten *or* Twelve (*for in ſo many* Provinces *we have divided the whole*) *to whom Charge and Commandment ſhould be given to plant and erect Kirks, to ſet, order, and appoint Miniſters to the Countries, that ſhall be appointed to their care, where none are now.* (*d*) This is the whole foundation of the *Plea*, for the *Temporarineſs* of *Superintendency*; but, if I miſtake not, the true *Gloſs* of this *period*, will amount to no more than this, "That becauſe there "were, then, ſo few men qualified for the "Office of *Superintendency*, tho *Ten* or *Twelve* "were, by far, too ſmall a number for the "whole

(*d*) Ibid.

" whole Kingdom, yet, at that time, they " thought it expedient to eſtabliſh no more: " And tho, when the Church ſhould be " ſufficiently provided with Miniſters, it " would be highly reaſonable, that the *Su-* " *perintendents* ſhould have places appointed " them, for their continual Reſidence; yet, " in that juncture, it was neceſſary that " they ſhould be conſtantly travelling thro " their *Diſtricts*, to preach and plant " Churches, *&c.* That the period will bear this *Gloſs* is obvious to any who conſiders it impartially. And that *this*, and not the *Presbyterian*, is the *true* Gloſs, I hope, may competently appear, if theſe things be conſidered.

1. It is notorious, that the Compilers of that *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, were generally, to their dying day, of *Prelatical Principles.* They were *ſix*, as *Knox* tells us: (*e*) Mr. *John Winrame*, who died *Superintendent* of *Strathern*; *John Spotſwood*, who was many years a *Superintendent*, and a conſtant Enemy to *parity*, as appears from his *Sons* account of him. (*f*) *John Willock*, who died *Superintendent* of the *Weſt*. *John Dowglas*, who died *Archbiſhop* of *St. Andrews*. *John Row*, who was *one* of the *three* that defended the *Lawfulneſs* of *Epiſcopacy*, at the *Conference* appointed by the General Aſſembly 1575; and *John Knox*, of whom we have ſaid enough already. Now, I ask, is it credible, that theſe men, all, ſo much for *Prelacy*, all their Lives, without any conſtraint on them

(*e*) Kn. 283.

(*f*) Spot. 344.

(As

(As 'tis certain, there was none) ſhould, while digeſting a *Model* of *Policy*, have been only for a *Prelacy* that was to be laid aſide, within, God knows, how ſhort a time; ſo ſoon as the *Pariſh Churches* could be planted with Miniſters? I know nothing can be ſaid here, unleſs it be, that *Knox* was not ſo *prelatical* as the *reſt*, and he would have it ſo, and the *reſt* have yielded: But there's no ground for this. For

2. Even *Knox* himſelf, if he was the Author of the Hiſtory which bears his Name, amongſt our Presbyterian Brethren, aſſigns a quite other reaſon than the *then Neceſſities* of the Church, for the Eſtabliſhment of *Superintendency*: *Superintendents and Overſeers were nominated* (ſays he) (g) *that all things in the Church, might be carried with order, and well.* A Reaſon, which, as it *held* ſince the Apoſtles times, will continue to *hold* ſo long as the Church continues. And is it not told again in that ſame Hiſtory, (h) That, at the *Admiſſion* of *Spotſwood* to the *Superintendency* of *Lothian*, *John Knox* in his Sermon aſſerted, *the Neceſſity of Superintendents or Overſeers*, as well as *Miniſters*? The *Neceſſity*, I ſay, and not the *bare Expediency*, in that *juncture*. Further, now that I have *Knox* on the Stage, I ſhall repeat over again, a Teſtimony of his, which I have once tranſcribed already from his *Exhortation to England for the ſpeedy embracing of Chriſts Goſpel*. *Let no man be charged in preaching of Chriſt Jeſus* (ſays he (i) *above* that

(g) Knox 260.

(h) Ib. 289.

(i) p. 116.

that which a man may do: I mean, that your Biſhopricks be ſo divided, that of every one, (*as they are now for the moſt part*) *may be made* ten; *and ſo in every City, and great Town, there may be placed a godly learned Man, with ſo many joyned with him, for preaching and inſtruction, as ſhall be thought ſufficient for the bounds commited to their Charge.* Than which teſtimony, it is not poſſible to find a better *Comment* upon that *period* of the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, (penned alſo by *Knox* himſelf) which is the ſubject of our preſent Controverſie; and it agrees exactly with *my Gloſs*: For, from this Teſtimony it is clear, that he was for a great number of Biſhops, and *little Dioceſſes*; and that in a Church ſufficiently provided with Miniſters, the *Biſhop* ſhould not be obliged to *travel* from place to place, for preaching; but might ſtay at the *Chief City* or Town of his *Dioceſs*. What I have ſaid, might be ſufficient for preferring *Mine*, to the *Presbyterian* Gloſs: But I have more to ſay. For

3. This ſenſe of the *period* accords exactly with the whole tenour of the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*; in which, there's not another ſyllable, the moſt partial Reader can ſay, favours the miſtaken Conceipt about the *Temporarineſs* of *Superintendency*, but much to the contrary. Thus

In the Head of the *Election* of *Superintendents* (*k*) the very firſt words are, *Such is the preſent Neceſſity, that the Examination and Admiſſion of Superintendents cannot be ſo ſtrict as afterwards*

(*k*) Spot. 119.

afterwards it muſt. Clearly importing, that, as *Neceſſity* forced them to eſtabliſh a *ſmall* number at *firſt*, ſo alſo, to take them as they could have them; but that a ſtricter accuracy in their tryal would be needful, when the number of qualified men ſhould increaſe, which runs quite counter to the whole deſign of the Presbyterian Gloſs.

Again, (*l*) *If ſo many able men cannot be found at preſent, as Neceſſity requireth, it is better that theſe Provinces wait till God provide, than that men unable to edify and govern the Church be ſuddenly placed in the Charge*, &c. Another Demonſtration, why, *at that time*, they eſtabliſhed ſo *few* Superintendents. (*l*) Ibid.

Again, (*m*) *If any Superintendent ſhall depart this life, or happen to be depoſed*, Rules are laid down for ſupplying the Vacancy. But to what purpoſe, if *Superintendency* was to be of ſo *ſhort* continuance? (*m*) Ibid.

Farther yet, (*n*) *After the Church ſhall be eſtabliſhed, and three years are paſt, no man ſhall be called to the Office of a Superintendent, who hath not, two years, at leaſt, given a proof of his faithful Labours in the Miniſtery of ſome Church.* What could more plainly import, that the *Office* was to be *durable*? (*n*) Ib. 160.

Once more, (*o*) When this *Book of Diſcipline* comes to the buſineſs of the *Univerſities*, it ſuppoſes that *Superintendents* and *Colleges* were to be of *equal continuance*; for the *Superintendent* was ſtill to be at the chooſing and inſtallment of *Principals* and *Rectors*: and the *Moneys collected for upholding the Fa-* (*o*) Ib. 162, 163.

brick, were to be counted yearly upon the 15th day of *November*, *in the preſence of the Superintendent of the bounds*, and imployed with his advice, *&c.* Neither is this all yet; For

4. The *Form* and *Order of the Election of the Superintendent*, to be found both in *Knox's Hiſtory*, (*p*) and the *Old Scottiſh Liturgy*, is every way as *patt* for the continuance of the Office, as the Firſt Book of Diſcipline. For the firſt thing we meet with there, (as I have already obſerved) is, *The Neceſſity of Miniſters, and Superintendents or Overſeers* without any *Exception* or *Speciality* about the *one* more than the *other*. And as our Reformers had petitioned the Government for the Eſtabliſhment of a Method, to be obſerved in the *Election* of *Biſhops* and *Presbyters*, without any intimations of the *Temporarineſs* of *either* Office; as we have ſhewed before; ſo, here we find it put in practice (as hath likewiſe, before, been obſerved) without ſo much as one ſyllable, favouring the *Presbyterian ſide* of the preſent Controverſie; but on the contrary, all alongſt for *mine*. Thus,

(*p*) Kn. 289, *&c.*

The People are asked, *If they will obey and honour him as Chriſts Miniſter, and comfort and aſſiſt him in every thing pertaining to his Charge?* And their Anſwer is, *They will, and they promiſe him ſuch Obedience, as becometh Sheep to give unto their Paſtor*, (not ſo long as *the preſent Neceſſity forceth*, or, *the preſent Exigence requireth*, but) *ſo long as he remaineth faithful*

faithful in his Charge. In ſhort, the Order or *Form* for *admitting* a *Superintendent*, and a *Pariſh Miniſter*, was all *one*; and there was nothing in it importing the *one* Office to be *temporary*, more than the *other*. And, however *Calderwood* thought fit to affirm, That *Superintendents were not, then, eſtabliſhed as of Divine Inſtitution*; yet, in all this *Form* the divine Inſtitution of their Office, is as much to be found as the divine Inſtitution of Ordinary Miniſters. The People, as we had it juſt now, were asked, if they would obey him *as Chriſt's Miniſter*? And he himſelf was asked, *If he knew that the Excellency of this Office, to the which* GOD CALLED HIM *did require that his Converſation ſhould be irreprehenſible*? And again it was asked the People, *Will ye not acknowledge this your Brother for the* Miniſter of Chriſt Jeſus? *Your Overſeer and Paſtor*? *Will ye not maintain and comfort him in his Miniſtry and Watching over you, againſt all ſuch as wickedly would rebel againſt* God, *and* HIS HOLY ORDINANCE? And in the *Prayer* after his *Inſtalment*, we have this *petition*, *Send unto this our Brother, whom,* IN THY NAME, *we have charged with* THE CHIEF CARE *of thy Church within the bounds of* Lothian, *&c.* Thus our Reformers thought of *Superintendency* when they compoſed this *Form*. Now, if they lookt upon it as *Gods Ordinance*, &c. with what reaſon can it be ſaid, they deſign'd it *meerly* to be *temporary*, and for *the, then, Neceſſities of the Church*. I think it will

be hard to prove, that it was the *Divinity* of theſe times, that men might *diſpenſe* with *divine Inſtitutions*; but of this more afterwards. In the mean time, proceed we to a further, and indeed, ane irrefragable Topick for confirming my ſide of the preſent Controverſie; and that is

5. That, as *the Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, and the *Form of admitting Superintendents*, do both fairly import, that our Reformers intended nothing leſs than the *Temporarineſs* of *Superintendents*, ſo 'tis as clear from a vaſt number of Acts of General Aſſemblies.

Moſt of theſe Acts I have already adduced for ſhewing the *Diſparities* between Superintendents and Ordinary Miniſters, when they are ſeriouſly conſidered, will be found uncontrovertibly to this purpoſe: But there are many more; for example conſider theſe following.

(a) Kn. 297. Pet. 223. Mſs.

The Aſſembly *May* 27, 1561. (a) addreſſed to the Council, *That ſpecial and certain proviſion might be made for the Maintenance of the Superintendents, Miniſters, Exhorters and Readers; and that Superintendents and Miniſters might be planted where none were.*

The Aſſembly at *Eden. Decem.* 25. 1562. (as the *Mſs.* has it) enacted, *That, notwithſtanding the proponing and nominating of the Superintendents for* Aberdeen, Bamf, Jedburgh, *and* Dumfries, *appointed before in the Third Seſſion: and the days appointed for the Election of the ſame; the further Adviſement and Nomination of the perſons ſhould be remitted to the Lords*

Lords of the ſecret Council; providing, always, that the days appointed for their Election be not prolonged. Obſerve here that *Aberdeen* and *Bamf* were now deſign'd, *each* to have *their* Superintendent, whereas *both* were to be under *one* by the *firſt* Nomination, in the *Book of Diſcipline.*

One of the Articles ordered by the Aſſembly at *Eden. Decem.* 25. 1564. to be preſented to the Queen, was, *To require that Superintendents might be placed in the Realm, where none were,* viz. *in the* Mers, Teviotdale, Foreſt Twedale, *and the reſt of the* Dales, *in the* South, *not provided; with* Aberdeen, *and the other parts of the* North, *likewiſe deſtitute:* So it is in the *Mſs.* *Petrie* (*b*) has it only in ſhort, *That Superintendents be placed where none are.* But as it is in the *Mſs.* it ſhews plainly that, now that the Church was of four years ſtanding, and the number of qualified men was increaſing, the Aſſembly were for increaſing, proportionably, the number of Superintendents. As is demonſtrated thus; by the Eſtabliſhment in the *First Book of Diſcipline*, the *Superintendent of Lothians Dioceſs* comprehended the *Sheriffdoms* of *Lothian*, *Stirling*, *Mers*, *Lauderdale*, and *Twedale.* (*c*) *Spotſwood* was ſet over this *Dioceſs* in *March* 156$\frac{0}{1}$. He was ſtill alive, and in the Exerciſe of his Office; and yet here, now, the Aſſembly craves that *Superintendents* may be placed in the *Mers* and *Twedale*, and the *reſt* of the *Dales.* From which it follows, that that which was but

(*b*) Pet. 341.

(*c*) Spot. 158.

one Dioceſs, *Anno* 1560. when qualified men were few, was deſign'd by the Aſſembly, *Anno* 1564. when the number of qualified men was ſomewhat increaſed, to be divided, at leaſt, into *three* or *four*. Exactly agreeable to what I have all along aſſerted.

In the Aſſembly at *Eden*, *July* 20. *Anno* 1567. That famous Aſſembly, whereof *Buchanan* was *Moderator*, and which tumbled Queen *Mary* from her Throne, it was agreed, by the Nobility and Barons on the one hand, and the Church on the other, *That all the Popiſh Clergy ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed, and that Superintendents, Miniſters and other* NEEDFUL MEMBERS *of the Kirk, ſhould be planted in their places.* So it is in the *Mſs.* and ſo *Spotſwood* hath it: (*d*) But both *Calderwood* and *Petrie*, tho they mention the thing, yet, labour to obſcure it; for they do not ſo much as name *Superintendents*, far leſs, take notice that, they are reckoned amongſt the *Neceſſary Members*, or were to *ſucceed* the *Popiſh* Biſhops. (*e*)

(*d*) Ib. 210.

(*e*) Pet. 356. Cald. 42.

Farther, by the Aſſ. at *Eden*. *July* 1. 1568. it is reſolved, *To adviſe with my Lord Regent his Grace and Council, that in the Rowms and Countreys where no Superintendents are, they may be placed.* So the *Mſs.* and *Pet.* (*f*) Nay

(*f*) Pet. 360.

Doth not *Calderwood* himſelf tell us, that, the Aſſ. holden at *Eden*. *March* 1. 1570. when it appointed the Order to be obſerved thereafter, in handling affairs brought before General Aſſemblies, ordained, in the

ſixth

ſixth place, That *the Complaints of Countreys for want of Superintendents ſhould be heard and provided for*, &c. (*g*) Further, doth not the ſame *Calderwood* record, that, when in the year 1574. the Superintendents of *Angus*, *Lothian*, and *Strathern*, would have dimitted their Office, the Aſſembly would not admit of their Dimiſſion, but ordered them to continue in their Function? (*h*) For what reaſon they offered to demit, perhaps, we ſhall learn hereafter. All I am concerned for at preſent is, that the Aſſembly would needs continue them in their Office now, *fourteen* years after the firſt legal Eſtabliſhment of the Reformation. The truth is, this Aſſembly was holden in *March*, and Maſter *Andrew Melvil*, the *Protoplaſt* Presbyterian in *Scotland*, came not to the Kingdom, till *July* thereafter.

(*g*) Cal. 46.

(*h*) Ib. 63.

By this time, I think, I have made it appear, that our Reformers intended nothing leſs than to make *Superintendency* only *temporary*, and ſubſervient to the *then* pretended *Neceſſities* of the *Church*. And likewiſe I have ſufficiently made it appear, that it was merely for ſcarcity of qualified men, that ſo few *Superintendents* were at firſt deſign'd, by the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*; which was the one half of my Gloſs upon the controverted period in that Book.

The other half, which was, that when once the Church was competently provided with *Pariſh Miniſters*, the *Superintendents* were no longer obliged to their *Evangeliſtical* way

way of travelling constantly through their *Dioceſſes*, to preach, *&c.* is plain from what both *Petrie* and *Spotſwood* agree in, as contained in the *Book*, viz. That they were to follow that method no longer than their Kirks were provided of Miniſters, or, at leaſt, of Readers. (*i*) Thus I have diſpatched the firſt thing which was propoſed to be enquired into, *viz.* Whither there was any ſufficient *fund* in the Records of theſe times, for believing that our Reformers intended, that *Superintendency* ſhould only be *temporary*. It remains now that we ſhould conſider the

(*i*) Pet. 219. Spot. 159.

2. *viz.* What Force or Solidity is in the reaſon inſiſted on by our Presbyterian Brethren, to make this pretence ſeem plauſible?

The reaſon inſiſted on, by them, is, *The Force of Neceſſity*, *there being ſo few men, then, qualified for the Miniſtery*; *ſcarcely one in a Province*, &c. Now who ſees not that this ſo often repeated reaſon is entirely naught and inconſequential? For, what tho, in theſe times, there were few qualified men for the Miniſtery? How follows it, that therefore it was neceſſary to raiſe up *Superintendents*, and ſet them above their Brethren? If the principles of *parity* had, then, been the *modiſh* principles, could not theſe *few*, who were qualified, have govern'd the Church, ſuitably to theſe principles? Suppoſe we *Twenty*, *Thirty*, *Forty* men, in the Kingdom, qualified for the Office of the Miniſtery; could not theſe

20,

20, or 30, or 40, have divided the Kingdom into a proportionable number of *large* Pariſhes? And, ſtill, as more men turn'd qualified, could they not have leſſened theſe greater Pariſhes, till they had multiplied them to as great a number as they pleaſed, or was convenient? It was *eaſy* to have done ſo: ſo very *obvious*, as well as *eaſy*, that, it is not to be doubted, they would have done ſo, if they had been of theſe principles. Why might not they have done ſo, as well as our Presbyterian Brethren, now adays, *unite* Presbyteries where they have a ſcarcity of Miniſters of their Perſwaſion? Where lies the impoſſibility of *Uniting Pariſhes*, more than *uniting Preſbyteries*? Indeed

This way of reaſoning is more dangerous than it ſeems our Presbyterian Brethren are aware of, for it quite cuts the ſinews of *Parity*, and demonſtrates irrefragably, that it cannot be the *Model*, our bleſſed Lord *inſtituted* for the Government of his Church. For who can believe he would inſtitute a *Model* of Government for his Church, which could not anſwer the ends of its inſtitution? And is it not plain, that *Parity* cannot anſwer the ends for which Church Government was inſtituted, if the Church can be reduced to that State, that the Governors thereof, *forced by Neceſſity*, muſt lay it aſide, and, *for a time*, eſtabliſh a *Prelacy*? Beſides,

What *ſtrange Divinity* is it to maintain, that *Parity* is of *divine Inſtitution*, and yet, may

may be laid aſide in *Caſes* of *Neceſſity*? 'Tis true *G. R.* in his *True Repreſentation of Preſbyterian Government*, cited before, is bold to publiſh to the world, *ſuch* Divinity: But let him talk what he will of *the Caſe of Neceſſity, the Force of Neceſſity, the Law of Neceſſity*, let him put it in as many Languages as he pleaſes, as well as he hath done in *Latin*, telling, that *Neceſſitas quicquid coegit, defendit*: (tho, I muſt confeſs, I have ſeen few Authors more unhappy at *Latin*;) And all that ſhall never perſwade me, ought never perſwade any Chriſtian, that *any Neceſſity* can oblige Chriſtians to *forſake*, far leſs, to *croſs* Chriſts inſtitutions; for if it can oblige to do ſo in *one* Caſe, why not in *all* Caſes? Indeed to talk of *croſſing* Chriſts inſtitutions, when *forced* to it by the *Laws* of *Neceſſity*, what is it elſe, than to open a Door to *Gnoſticiſm*, to *Infidelity*, to *Apoſtacy*, to all imaginable kinds of *Antichriſtian Perfidy* and *Villany*? But enough of this at preſent.

That which I am concerned for, is only this, that, being it was ſo very obvious and eaſy for our Reformers to have caſt the very firſt *Scheme* of the Government of the Church, according to the *Rules* and *Exigencies* of *Parity*, if they had believed the *divine* and *indiſpenſable inſtitution* of it; and being that they did it not, we have all the reaſon in the world to believe, that they believed no ſuch principle. For my part, I am ſo far from thinking it reaſonable, that

Prelacy

Prelacy ſhould be only needful, where there is a ſcarcity of men qualified to be Miniſters; that on the contrary I do profeſs, I am of opinion, that *Prelacy* ſeems to be every whit as needful and expedient, if not more, (ſuppoſing we had it in our power to *cut* and *carve* (as we ſay) on Chriſts inſtitutions) where there are *many*, as where there are *few* Miniſters. Sure I am, Experience hath taught ſo, and teaches ſo daily: and as ſure I am, it can, with great reaſon, be accounted for, why it ſhould be ſo; but if it is ſo, I think, it is only *help at a dead Life* (as we ſay) to ſay, that *Superintendency* was eſtabliſhed at our Reformation, only, becauſe of the *Scarcity* of *men qualified* to be Miniſters. And ſo I proceed to our Brethrens next Plea, which is,

SECONDLY, *That Superintendency was not the ſame with Epiſcopacy.* *Calderwood* aſſigns ſeven or eight differences between *Superintendents* and *Biſhops*; (*a*) and his faithful Diſciple *G. R.* in his *Firſt Vindication*, in *anſwer* to the *firſt Queſtion*, reſumes the ſame Plea, and inſiſts moſtly on the ſame Differences. *Calderwood* reckons thus,

(*a*) Cald. 26, 27.

1. *In the Election, Examination and Admiſſion of Miniſters, the Superintendents were bound to the Order preſcribed in the 4th Head of the Firſt Book of Diſcipline; which is far different from the Order obſerved by Prelates.*

2. *Superintendents kept not the bounds, nor the limits of the old Dioceſſes.*

3. *Superintendents*

3. *Superintendents might not remain above twenty days in any place, till they had paſſed through the whole bounds; muſt preach, at leaſt, thrice in the week; muſt ſtay no longer in the Chief Town of their Charge, than three or four Months at moſt, but muſt re-enter in Viſitation of the reſt of the Kirks in their bounds. Biſhops think preaching the leaſt of their Charge.*

4. *The Election, Examination, and Admiſſion of the Superintendent, is ſet down far different from the Election, Examination and Admiſſion of Biſhops now adays,* &c.

5. *Superintendents were admitted without other Ceremonies than ſharp Examination,* &c. *To the Inauguration of a Biſhop is required the Metropolitans Conſecrations.*

6. *There were no degrees of ſuperior and inferior, provincial and general Superintendents: It is otherwiſe in the Hierarchy of the Prelates,* &c.

I have ſet down theſe ſix *huge* Differences, without ever offering to conſider them particularly; are they not *huge* Differences? Behold them, examine them carefully; is not each of them as *eſſential* and *ſpecifick* as another?

Think not, courteous Reader, it was *Malice* or *Ill-will* to Epiſcopacy, made our Author muſter up theſe Differences: Theſe make but a ſmall number; if he had been acted by *paſſion* or *vicious Byaſs*, if his Malice had been vigorous and earneſt to diſcharge it ſelf that way; he could have eaſily reckoned ſix hundred, every whit as conſi-

derable

derable Differences: He might have told them, that Biſhops wore *Black Hats*, and Superintendents *Blue Bonnets*; that Biſhops wore *Silks*, and Superintendents *Tartan*; that Biſhops wore *Gowns* and *Caſſocks*, and Superintendents *Trews* and *ſlaſht Doublets*; and God knows, how many ſuch differences he might have readily collected. And if he had adduced ſuch *notable* differences as theſe, he had done every way as *Philoſophically*, and as like a good *Difference-maker*. But in the mean time what is all this to *Parity* or *Imparity* amongſt the Governors of the Church? Do theſe *differences*, he has adduced, *diſtinguiſh* between Biſhops and Superintendents as to preheminence of *power*, and the eſſentials of *Prelacy*? Do they prove that Superintendents had no Prerogative, no Authority, no Juriſdiction, over Pariſh Miniſters? I have treated him thus courſly, becauſe I know no other way of treatment Authors deſerve, who will needs ſpeak *Nonſenſe* rather than ſpeak nothing. 'Tis true indeed:

One difference he has mentioned, which ſeems ſomething material, and therefore I ſhall endeavor to account for it with ſome more ſeriouſneſs. It is that by the Conſtitution, as we have it, both in the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, and the *Form and Order of electing Superintendents*, *Superintendents were made obnoxious to the Tryal and Cenſures of the Miniſters within their own Dioceſſes.* This I acknowledge to be true; and I acknowledge further,

further, that, herein, there was a conſiderable difference between *them* and *Biſhops*; as Biſhops ſtood eminenced above Presbyters in the primitive times, and as they ought to ſtand eminenced above them in all well conſtituted Churches. But then I have theſe things to ſay,

1. I ſhall not ſcruple to acknowledge that, herein, our Reformers were in the wrong; and that this was a great Error in the Conſtitution. I do avowedly profeſs, I don't think my ſelf bound to juſtify every thing that was done by our Reformers: If that falls to any mans ſhare, it falls to theirs who eſtabliſhed this *Article* in the *Claim of Right*, which gave occaſion to this whole Enquiry. That our Reformers, herein, were in the wrong, I ſay, I make no ſcruple to acknowledge; and I think it cannot but be obvious to all, who have ſpent but a few thoughts about matters of *Policy* and *Government*. Indeed, to make Governours ſubject to the Cenſures and Sentences of their Subjects, what is it elſe than to ſubvert Government, to confound Relations, to ſap the Foundations of all Order and politick Eſtabliſhment? *It is* (as *King James* the ſixth has it in his Diſcourſe about the *true Law of Free Monarchies*, (*b*) and I cannot give it better) *to invert the Order of all Law and Reaſon; to make the commanded, command the Commander; the judged, judge their Judge; and them who are governed to govern, their time about, their Lord and Governour.* In ſhort, to give a juſt account

(*b*) K. J. *his Works*, p. 202.

account of ſuch a Conſtitution, it is very near of Kin, to that *bantering* Queſtion I have ſometimes heard propoſed to Children or Ideots, *If you were above me, and I, above you, which of us ſhould be uppermoſt?* I add further

2. That, as I take it, our Reformers put this in the Conſtitution, that they might appear conſequential to a principle, then eſpouſed and put in practice by them, about Civil Government; which was, that the King was ſuperior to his Subjects in their diſtributive, but inferior to them in their collective Capacity. † This principle, I ſay, in thoſe days was in great Credit: *Knox* had learned it from the *Democratians* at *Geneva*; his Authority was great, and he was very *fond* of this principle, and diſſeminated it with a ſingular zeal and confidence. Beſides, our Reformers were, then, obnoxious to the civil Government; the ſtanding Laws were againſt them, and the Soveraigns perſwaſion, in matters of Religion, jumpt with the Laws. This Principle, therefore, (had it been a good one) came to them moſt ſeaſonably; and coming to them in ſuch a nick, and withal, meeting, in them, with *Scotch Mettal*, † they put it in practice; and being put in practice, God ſuffered it to be ſucceſsful; and the ſucceſs was a new Endearment, and ſo it came to be a Principle of Credit and Reputation. Indeed, they had been very unthankful to it, and inconſequential to boot, if they had not

† Major ſingulis, minor univerſis.

† Præſervidum Scotorum ingenium.

adopted it into their *Eccleſiaſtical*, as well as their *Civil Syſteme*; and the Superintendents, having had a main hand in reducing it to practice againſt the Prince, could not take it ill if it was made a Law to themſelves; it was but their own meaſure. This, I ſay, I take to be the natural Hiſtory of this part of the Conſtitution. Nay,

3. So fond, it ſeems, they were of this principle, that they extended it further, ſo far, as even to make Miniſters accountable to their own *Elderſhips*. So 'tis expreſly eſtabliſhed by the *Firſt Book* of Diſcipline, Head 8. *(c) The Elders ought alſo to take heed to the Life, Manners, Diligence and Study of their Miniſter: And if he be worthy of Admonition, they muſt admoniſh him; if of Correction, they muſt correct him; and if he be worthy of Depoſition, they, with the Conſent of the Church and Superintendent, may depoſe him.* Here was a *pitch* of *Democracy* which, I think, our Presbyterian Brethren themſelves, as *ſelf denied* as they are, would not take with, ſo very kindly. And yet I am apt to believe, the Compilers of the *Book*, never thought on putting theſe *Elders* in a ſtate of *parity* with their Miniſters; tho this is a Demonſtration, that they have not been the greateſt Maſters at *Drawing Schemes* of *Policy*. But to let this paſs.

(c) Spot. 167.

4. Tho this unpolitical ſtroke (to call it no worſe) was made part of the Conſtitution by that Book, as I have granted; yet I have no where found, that ever it was put

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in practice. I have no where found, that *De Facto* a *Superintendent*, was *judged* by his own *Synod*; whether it was, that they behaved ſo exactly, as that they were never cenſureable, or that their *Synods* had not the inſolence to reduce a Conſtitution ſo very abſurd, and unreaſonable, to practice, I ſhall not be anxious to determine. But it ſeems probable it has been as much, if not more, upon the latter account than the former; for I find *Superintendents* frequently tried, and ſometimes cenſured by General Aſſemblies; and there was reaſon for it, ſuppoſing that General Aſſemblies, as then conſtituted, were fit to be the ſupreme Judicatories of the National Church: For there was no reaſon that *Superintendents* ſhould have been *Popes*, *i.e.* abſolute and unaccountable; ſo that, if I am not miſtaken, our Brethren *raiſe Duſt*, to little purpoſe, when they make ſo much noiſe about the Accountableneſs of Superintendents to General Aſſemblies, as if that made a difference between them and Biſhops: For I know no man that makes Biſhops unaccountable, eſpecially when they are *confederated* in a *National* Church. But this by the way: That which I take notice of is, That ſeeing we find they were ſo frequently tried by *General Aſſemblies*, without the leaſt intimation of their being, at any time, tried by their own *Synods*, it ſeems reaſonable to conclude, that it has been thought fit to let that unreaſonable

Stretch in the first Constitution fall into *Dissuetude*: But however this was, I have all safe enough. For

5. Such a Constitution infers no such thing as *parity* amongst the Officers of the Church. Those who maintain, that the King is *inferiour* to his Subjects, in their *Collection*, are not yet so *extravagant* as to say, he is not *superior* to every *one* of them in their *Distribution*: They acknowledge he is *Major Singulis*; and there's not a person in the Kingdom, who will be so *unmannerly* as to say, that he stands upon the same *Level* with his *Soveraign*. But what needs more? These same very Presbyterian Authors, who use this Argument, even *while* they use it, confess, That *Superintendents*, and ordinary *Parish Ministers*, did not *act* in *parity*; and because they *cannot* deny it, but *must* confess it, whether they will or not, they cannot forbear raising all the Dust they can about it, that unthinking People may not see clearly that they do confess it. And had it not been for this reason, I am apt to think, the world had never been plagued with such pitiful *jangle*, as such Arguments amount to. Neither is the next any better, which is,

3. *That Superintendency was never established by Act of Parliament.* This is *G. R.*'s Argument in his learned Answer to the first of the ten Questions; for there he tells us, That *Superintendency was neither brought in, nor cast out, by Act of Parliament.* And what then?

then? Doth he love it the worſe that it was eſtabliſhed, purely, by Eccleſiaſtical Authority? How long ſince he turn'd *fond* of *Parliamentary* Eſtabliſhments? I wonder he was not affraid of the *Scandal* of *Eraſtianiſm*. But to the point: 'Tis true indeed, it was not brought in by Act of Parliament; but then, I think, he himſelf cannot deny, that it was countenanced, allowed and approven, by more than *half a Dozen* of Acts of Parliaments; which, if our Author underſtands any thing either of *Law* or *Logick*, he muſt allow to be, at leaſt, *equivalent* to a Parliamentary *In-bringing*. I have theſe Acts in readineſs to produce, when I ſhall be put to it: But I think his own Act which he cited (tho moſt ridiculouſly, as ſhall be made appear afterwards) in the immediately preceeding paragraph, may be good enough for *him*. For, "*He* concludes "it as evident, that Epiſcopal Juriſdiction "over the Proteſtants, was condemned by "Law in the Parliament 1567. becauſe it "is, there, *ſtatute and ordained, that no other* "*Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical be acknowledged* "*within this Realm, than that which is, and* "*ſhall be, within this ſame Kirk, eſtabliſhed* "*preſently, or which floweth therefrom, concern-*"*ing preaching the Word, correcting of Manners,* "*adminiſtration of Sacraments*; and Prelati-"cal Juriſdiction was not then in *Scotland*. So he reaſons. Now I dare adventure to refer it to his own judgment, whither it will not, by the ſame way of reaſoning,

follow, and be *as evident*, that the *Juriſdiction of Superintendents* was allowed of, by this ſame Act, ſeeing he himſelf cannot have the *Brow* to deny, that it was, then, in its vigor, and daily exerciſed? I think this is Argument good enough, *ad hominem*; But, as I ſaid, we ſhall have more of this Act of Parliament hereafter.

Thus I have diſpelled ſome of theſe clouds our Presbyterian Brethren uſe to raiſe about the *Prelacy* of *Superintendents*; perhaps there may be more of them, but, conſidering the weakneſs of theſe, which, certainly, are the ſtrongeſt, it is eaſy to conjecture what the reſt may be, if there are any more of them. And thus, I think, I have fairly accounted for the Sentiments of our Reformers, in relation to *Parity* or *Imparity* amongſt the Governors of the Church, during the *Firſt Scheme* into which they caſt the Government of the Church.

BEFORE I proceed to the next, I muſt go back a little, and give a brief Deduction of ſome things which may afford conſiderable Light, both to what I am now to inſiſt on, and what I have inſiſted on already.

Tho I am moſt unwilling to rake into the Miſtakes or Weakneſſes of our Reformers, yet I cannot but ſay, that our Reformation was carried on, and, at firſt eſtabliſhed upon ſome principles, very diſadvantageous to the Church, both as to her *Polity* and *Patrimony*. There were Miſtakes in the

the Miniſters on the one hand, and ſiniſter and worldly deſigns amongſt the Laity, on the other: and both concurred unhappily, to produce Great Evils in the Reſult.

There was a principle had, then, got too much footing amongſt ſome Proteſtant Divines, *viz.* That the beſt way to reform a Church, was to recede as far from the Papiſts as they could; to have nothing in common with them, but the Eſſentials; the neceſſary and indiſpenſable Articles and Parts of Chriſtian Religion; whatever was, in its nature indifferent, and not poſitively and expreſly commanded in the Scriptures, if it was in faſhion in the Popiſh Churches, was therefore to be laid aſide, and avoided as a Corruption; as having been abuſed, and made ſubſervient to Superſtition and Idolatry.

This principle *John Knox* was fond of, and maintained zealouſly; and the reſt of our reforming Preachers were much acted by his Influences. In purſuance of this principle, therefore, when they compiled the Firſt Book of Diſcipline, they would not reform the Old Polity, and purge it of ſuch Corruptions as had crept into it, keeping ſtill by the main Draughts and Lineaments of it; which undoubtedly had been the wiſer, the ſafer, and every way the better courſe, as they were then admoniſht, even by ſome of the *Popiſh* Clergy: (*a*) But they laid it quite aſide, and inſtead thereof hammered out a *New Scheme*, keeping at as

(*a*) Spot

great a diſtance from the *Old one*, as they could, and as the Eſſentials of Polity would allow them; eſtabliſhing no ſuch thing, however, as *Parity*, as I have fully proven. And no wonder; for as *Imparity* has, obviouſly, more of *Order*, *Beauty* and *Uſefulneſs* in its Aſpect, ſo it had never, ſo much as by Dreaming, entered their Thoughts, that it was a *Limb* of *Antichriſt*; or a *Relique* of *Popery*.

That our Reformers had the aforeſaid principle in their view, all alongſt, while they digeſted the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, is plain to every one that reads it. Thus,

In the *Firſt Head*, they condemn *Binding Men and Women to a ſeveral and diſguiſed Apparel; to the ſuperſtitious obſerving of Faſting Days — Keeping of holy days of certain Saints, commanded by Man, ſuch as be all theſe* THE PAPISTS HAVE INVENTED, *as the Feaſts of the Apoſtles, Martyrs,* Chriſtmas, &c. (*b*) In the *Second* Head, *The Croſs in Baptiſm* and *Kneeling* at the Reception of the Symbols, in the *Euchariſt*. In the *Third Head*, they require not only *Idolatry*, but *all its Monuments and Places to be ſuppreſſed*; and amongſt the reſt, *Chappels, Cathedral Churches, and Colleges, i. e.* as I take it, *Collegiate Churches*. And many other ſuch inſtances might be adduced; particularly, as to our preſent purpoſe: They would not call thoſe, whom they truly and really, ſtated in a *Prelacy* above their Brethren, *Prelates* or *Biſhops*, but *Superintendents*: They

(*b*) Ib. 153.

They would not allow of *Impoſition of hands* in *Ordinations*: They made *Superintendents* ſubject to the *Cenſures* of their own *Synods*; they changed the *bounds* of the *Dioceſſes*; they would not allow the *Superintendents* the *ſame* Revenues which *Prelates* had had before: They would not ſuffer *Eccleſiaſtical Benefices* to ſtand *diſtinguiſhed* as they had been formerly; but they were for caſting them all, for *once*, into *one* heap, and making a new Diviſion of the Churches Patrimony, and parcelling it out in Competencies, as they thought it moſt expedient. In ſhort,

A notable inſtance of the prevalency of this principle we have, even in the year 1572. after the Reſtauration of the *Old Polity* was agreed to. For, then, by many in the General Aſſembly, Exceptions were taken at the *Titles* of *Archbiſhop*, *Dean*, *Arch-Deacon*, *Chancellor*, *Chapter*, &c. as being *Popiſh Titles*, and *offenſive* to the Ears of good Chriſtians; (c) As all Hiſtorians agree. But then,

(c) Spot. 260. Pet. 376. Cald. 58.

As they were for theſe and the like alterations, in purſuance of this principle; ſo they were zealous for, and had no mind to part with, the *Patrimony* of the *Church*. Whatever had been dedicated to Religious Uſes; whatever, under the notion of either *Spirituality* or *Temporality*, had belonged to either *Seculars* or *Regulars*, before, they were *poſitive*, ſhould ſtill continue in the Churches hands, and be applied to her Maintainance

Maintainance and Advantages; condemning all Dilapidations, Alienations, Impropriations, and Laick Uſurpations, and Poſſeſſions of Church Revenues, *&c.* as is to be ſeen fully in the *Sixth Head* of the *Book*. (*d*) Thus, I ſay, our Reformers had digeſted a *New Scheme* of *Polity*, in the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, laying aſide the *Old one*, becauſe they thought it too much *Popiſh*. And now that we have this *Book* under conſideration, it will not be unuſeful (nay it will be needful for a full underſtanding of what follows) to *fix* the time when it was written.

(*d*) Spot. 164.

Knox (and *Calderwood* follows him) ſays, (*e*) it was written after the Diſſolution of the Parliament, which ſate in *Auguſt* 1560. and gave the legal Eſtabliſhment to the Reformation. But *Petrie* (*f*) ſays, it is expreſly affirmed in the beginning of the *Book* it ſelf, that the Commiſſion was granted for compiling it on the 29th of *April*, 1560. and that they brought it to a Concluſion, *as they could for the time*, before the 20th of *May* (a ſhort enough time, I think, for a work of ſuch importance.) So *Petrie* affirms, I ſay, and it is apparent he is in the right; for, his account agrees exactly with the *Firſt* Nomination of *Superintendents*, which both *Knox* and *Spotſwood* affirm to have been made in *July*, that year. (*g*) And, beſides, it falls in naturally with the *Series* of the Hiſtory; for the Nobility and Gentry's having ſeen the *Book*, and conſidered it before

(*e*) Kn. 283. Cald. 24.

(*f*) Pet. 218.

(*g*) Kn. 259, 260. Spot. 149.

fore the Parliament ſate, according to this account, makes it fairly intelligible, how it was intirely neglected, or rather rejected, not only, ſo far, as that it was never allowed of nor approven by them, as we ſhall learn by and by; but, ſo far, that, in that Parliament no proviſion, at all, was made for the Maintainance and Subſiſtence of the Reformed Miniſters. For underſtanding this more fully, yet,

It is to be conſidered, that there had been Diſceptations and Controverſies the year before, *viz.* 1559. about the Diſpoſal of the *Patrimony* of the Church. This I learn from a Letter of *Knox*'s to *Calvin*, (dated *Auguſt* 28. 1559. to be ſeen amongſt *Calvin*'s *Epiſtles*, *Col.* 441.) wherein he asks his ſentimenrs about this queſtion, *Whither the yearly Revenues might be payed to ſuch as had been Monks and Popiſh Prieſts, even tho they ſhould confeſs their former errors, conſidering that they neither ſerved the Church, nor were capable to do it?* And tells him frankly, that he had maintained the negative, for which he was called too ſevere, not only by the Papiſts, but even by many Proteſtants. From which 'tis plain, not only that there were, then, Controverſies about the Diſpoſal of the Patrimony of the Church, as I have ſaid, but alſo, that *Knox* (and by very probable conſequence, the Proteſtant Preachers, generally) was clear, that the Eccleſiaſtical

Hæc, quia nego, plus æquo ſeverus judicor, non a ſolis Papiſticis, verum etiam ab ijs qui ſibi veritatis patroni videntur.

ſiaſtical Revenues had been primarily deſtinated to the Church for the ends of Religion, and therefore whatever perſon could not ſerve theſe ends, could have no *juſt Title* to theſe *Revenues*: By which way of reaſoning, not only ignorant *Prieſts* and *Monks*, but all *Lay-men* whatſoever, were excluded from having any *Title* to the *Patrimony* of the *Church*. Now,

While this Controverſie was in agitation, as to point of *Right*, the Guiſe was going againſt *Knox*'s ſide of it, as to matter of *Fact*: For, in the mean time, many *Abbeys* and *Monaſteries* were thrown down, and the Nobility and Gentry were daily poſſeſſing themſelves of the *Eſtates* that had belonged to them; and ſo before the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, (which was *Knox*'s performance, and ſo, no doubt, contain'd his principle) was compiled, *they* were finding that there was ſomething *ſweet* in *ſacrilege*, and were by no means willing to part with what they had got, ſo fortunately, as they thought, in their Fingers. Beſides, They foreſaw, if *Knox*'s project took place, ſeveral other, which they judged conſiderable, inconvenients would follow: If the *Monks* and *Prieſts*, &c. who acknowledged their former errors, ſhould be ſo treated, what might *they* expect, who *perſiſted* in their adherence to the *Romiſh Faith* and *Intereſts*? Tho they were blinded with Superſtition and Error, yet they were *Men*, they were *Scottiſh-men*; nay they were generally of their own

own *Blood*, and their very near *Kinſmen*: And would it not be very hard to deprive them intirely of their Livings, and reduce them, who had their Eſtates ſettled upon them by Law, and had lived ſo plentifully and ſo hoſpitably, to ſuch ane *Hopeleſs* State of *Miſery* and *Arrant Beggary*? Further, by this *Scheme*, as they behoved to part with what they had already *griped*, ſo their Hopes of ever having opportunity to profit themſelves of the Revenues of the Church, thereafter, were more effectually diſcouraged, than they had been even in the times of *Popery*: The *Popiſh Clergy*, by their *Rules*, were bound to live *ſingle*, they could not *marry*, nor, by conſequence, have *lawful Children* to provide for. The reformed, as the Law of God allowed them, and their Inclinations prompted them, indulged themſelves the *Solaces* of *Wedlock*, and begot Children, and had Families to maintain and provide for; there were no ſuch Expectations, therefore, of eaſy Leaſes, and rich Gifts, and hidden Legacies, *&c.* from them, as from the *Popiſh* Clergy. Add to this, the *Popiſh* Clergy foreſaw the *Ruine* of the *Romiſh* Intereſts; they ſaw no likelihood of *Succeſſors*, of their own *Stamp* and Principles. They had a mighty *ſpite* at the Reformation. It was not likely, therefore, that they would be *anxious* what became of the *Patrimony* of the Church, after they were gone. It was to be hoped they might ſquander it away, dilapidate, alienate, *&c.* without

without difficulty; (as indeed they did) And who but themſelves (the Laity) ſhould have all this *gain?*

Upon theſe and the like Conſiderations, I ſay, the Nobility and Gentry had no liking to the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*; And being once out of Love with it, it was eaſy to get Arguments enough againſt it: The *Novelties*, and the numerous *needleſs Receſſions* from the *Old* Polity, which were in it, furniſhed theſe both obviouſly and abundantly. So it was not only not eſtabliſhed, but, it ſeems, the Nobility and Gentry, who have ever the principal ſway in *Scottiſh* Parliaments, to let the Miniſters find how much they had diſpleaſed them, by ſuch a *Draught*, *reſolved* to *ſerve* them a *Trick*. Indeed they *ſerved* them a *monſtrous one*; for tho in the Parliament, 1560. they eſtabliſhed the Reformation, as to *Doctrine* and *Worſhip*, &c. and by a *Legal Definition*, made the *Proteſtant* the *National* Church, yet they ſettled not ſo much as a *Groat* of the Churches *Revenues* upon its *Miniſters*, but continued the *Popiſh* Clergy, during their Lives, in their poſſeſſions.

'Tis true, indeed, thro the importunity of *J. Knox*, and ſome others of the Preachers, ſome Noblemen and Gentlemen ſubſcribed the *Book* in *January* 156$\frac{0}{1}$. (*b*) But as they were not *ſerious*, as *Knox* intimates, ſo, they did it with this *expreſs proviſion* (apparently levelled againſt one of the main deſigns of the *Book*) *That the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors,*

(*b*) Kn. 282, 283. Spot. 175.

Priors, and other Prelates, and Beneficed Men, who had already joyned themſelves to the Religion, ſhould enjoy the Rents of their Benefices, during their Lives, they ſuſtaining the Miniſters for their parts, &c. But it was never generally received; on the contrary it was treated in *Ridicule*, and called a *DEVOUT IMAGINATION*, which offended *Knox* exceedingly. (*i*) Nay, it ſeems, the Miniſters themſelves were not generally pleaſed with it, after ſecond thoughts, or, The Laity have been more numerous in the *General Aſſembly* holden in *December* 1561. For (as *Knox* himſelf tells us (*k*)) when it was moved, there, that the Book ſhould be offered to the Queen, and her Majeſty ſhould be ſupplicated to ratify it, the Motion was rejected.

(*i*) Kn. lib. Spot. 174.

(*k*) Kn. 323.

The Reformation thus eſtabliſhed, and through the *Badneſs*, or, at leaſt, the *Diſagreeableneſs* of the *Scheme* laid down in the *Book* on the one hand, and the *Selfiſh* and *Sacrilegious* Ends of the *Laity* on the other, no proviſion made for the Miniſters; it was unavoidable that they ſhould be *pincht*. And *pincht* they were, indeed, to purpoſe; For, for full *Eighteen* or *Nineteen Months*, after the Reformation was eſtabliſhed by Law, they had nothing to live by, but *Shift* or *Charity*; and, which heightned the Miſery, all this time of *Want*, they had little or no proſpect of the end of it: For when a Parliament, ſo much *Proteſtant*, as in the *Queens* abſence, to eſtabliſh the

Purity

Purity of *Doctrine*, *&c.* had treated them ſo unkindly, what was to be expected, now that *ſhe* was at home, every *inch* Popiſh, and zealouſly ſuch? Tho a Parliament ſhould now incline to pity them, yet how could it meet? Or what could it do without the Soveraigns Allowance? And what ground had they to hope that ſhe would befriend them? Indeed, nothing was to be attempted that way; it was not to be expected that the *Popiſh* Clergy ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of the Revenues of the Church, and the Reformed entituled to them, by Act of Parliament. Another *project* was to be fallen upon.

The *Project* fallen upon was, That the *Council*, then, intirely *Proteſtant*, ſhould deal with the *Queen* to oblige the *Popiſh* Clergy, Poſſeſſors of the Benefices, to reſign the *Thirds* of them, into her Majeſties hands, that they might be a *fond* for the Maintainance of the *Proteſtant Miniſters*. The Nation was, then, *generally* Proteſtant, and that *Intereſt* was too *ſtrong* for the *Queen*, ſo that they were not to be too much *provok't*: Beſides, one Argument was uſed which prevailed much with her Majeſty. The Revenues of the Queen were, then, very low, and ſhe loved to ſpend; and pains were taken to perſwade her that, beſide what would be ſubſiſtence enough for the Miniſters, ſhe would be ſure to have what might conſiderably relieve her own Neceſſities. This was a taking propoſition, ſo,

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the project ſucceeded. The *Popiſh Clergy* were put to it, and reſign'd the *Thirds*. (*l*) Collectors were appointed to bring them in to the *Exchequer*: The Miniſters, were, *thence*, to receive their Allowances. Well! ſuſe.

(*l*) Kn. 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, &c.

Were they well enough provided now? Alas! Poor Men! It was but little that was pretended to be provided for them; the *Thirds* of theſe Benefices which the *Laity* had not already *ſwallowed*: And yet far leſs was their *real* portion. They found by ſad experience that it was not for nothing, that the *Thirds* were ordered to be brought into the *Queens* Treaſury. For when they came to be divided, how mean were their Allotments? Ane hundred *Merks Scottiſh*, *i. e.* about 5 *l.* 11 *ſh. Engliſh*, to ane ordinary Miniſter in the Country. *Three hundred* (ſaith *Knox* (*m*)) *was the higheſt that was appointed to any, except the Superintendents, and a few others.*

(*m*) p. 329.

All this, the Miniſters, indeed, reſented highly. *John Knox* (*n*) ſaid publickly in his Sermon, *If that Order for maintaining the Miniſters ended well, his judgment failed him—— for he ſaw two parts freely given to the Devil*, (the Popiſh Clergy) *and the third muſt be divided betwixt God and the Devil*, *i. e.* betwixt *the Proteſtant Miniſters*, and the *Popiſh Queen*. And, no doubt, her Share was truely conſiderable. But neither did the Miſery end here: As poor as theſe ſmall *Pittances* were, they could not have them either *ſeaſonably*, or *fully* paid. The *Thirds* came in but *ſlowly*,

(*n*) Ib.

and the *Queens Neceſſities* behoved to be firſt ſerved; by which means, the Miniſters were forced to wait, many times, very long, for their Money: And, ſometimes, to take *little*, rather than want *all*: In ſhort, their ſenſe of the treatment they met with was ſo lively, that this turn'd to a *Proverb*, amongſt them: *The Good Laird of* Pittaro *was ane Earneſt Profeſſor of Chriſt*; *but the Great Devil receive the Controller.* (o) Thus, poor Men! they were hardly treated: they had great Charges, and a weighty Task; and they were *ill* provided, and *worſe* paid.

(o) Ibid.

This bred them much work in their Gen. Aſſemblies: For, ſcarcely did they ever meet, but a great part of their time was ſpent in forming *Petitions*, and importuning the Government for Relief of their Neceſſities; but all in vain, they were never the better, no not ſo much as *heard*, almoſt, till *July* 1567. Then, the Nobility and Gentry, reſolved to lay aſide the Queen from the Government, and finding it neceſſary to have the Miniſters of their ſide, began to beſpeak them a little more kindly. Then, indeed, it was made the *Second Article* of that *League*, into which they entered, *That the Act already made* (by the Queen and Council) *concerning the Thirds of the Benefices within this Realm, principally, for ſuſtaining the Miniſters, ſhould be duely put in Execution, according to the Order of the Book of the Appointment of Miniſters Stipends, as well*

well of them that are to be appointed, as of them who are already placed, and that the Miniſters ſhould be firſt duely anſwered, and ſufficiently ſuſtained, of the ſame, to the Relief of their preſent Neceſſity, ay and while a perfect Order might be ta'ne, and eſtabliſhed, towards the full Diſtribution of the Patrimony of the Kirk, according to Goas word, &c.

So I read in the *Mſs.* and *Spotſwood* (*p*) has the ſame upon the matter. But this was not all, *Burnt Bairns Fire dread.* The Miniſters ſenſible, it ſeems, of the *mean* and *uncertain* way of *Living*, they had had before, reſolved now to make the beſt advantage they could of that opportunity; and ſo they obtain'd this likewiſe for another *Article* of that *Confederacy*, and the Nobility promiſed, *That how ſoon a lawful Parliament might be had, or that the Occaſion might otherwiſe juſtly ſerve, they ſhould labour at their uttermoſt, that the Faithful Kirk of Jeſus Chriſt, profeſſed within this Realm, might be put in full Liberty* (*i. e.* poſſeſſion) *of the Patrimony of the Kirk, according to the Book of God, and the Order and Practice of the Primitive Kirk, and that nothing ſhould paſs in Parliament, till the Affairs of the Kirk were firſt conſidered, approved and eſtabliſhed; and alſo, that they ſhould reform themſelves, in the Matters of the Church, for their own parts; Ordaining the Contraveeners and Refuſers of the ſame to be ſecluded from the Boſom of the Kirk,* &c. So the *Mſs.* and *Spotſwood* alſo. (*q*)

(*p*) Spot. 209.

(*q*) Ibid.

Here were fair promiſes indeed! Were not the Miniſters well enough ſecured now? Was not the *Patrimony* of the Church, now, to *run* in its *Right Channel*? Alas! All promiſes are not performed. No ſooner had theſe Nobles and Barons carried their main point, which was the *dethroning* of the *Queen*, (to which alſo the Miniſters were forward enough) than they quite forgot their promiſes. For, tho the Parliament met in *December*, thereafter, and tho the Reſtitution of the *Patrimony* of the *Church* was promiſed to be the *firſt thing* that ſhould be done in Parliament, yet nothing like performance! Nay, tho ane Act was made for putting the *Articles* about the *Thirds* in Execution; yet, the Miniſters were forced to wait long enough, before they found the effects of it. In ſhort, they continued in the ſame ſtraits they had been in before, for full two years thereafter, that is, till *July* 1569. at which time, I find by the *Mſs.* and *Mr. Petrie* (r) the Church was put in poſſeſſion of the *Thirds*; for which their Neceſſities made them very thankful, as appears from the Narrative of ane Act of their Aſſembly at that time, which runs thus, as I find it in the Mſs. *Foraſmuch as this long time by-gone, the Miniſters have been univerſally defrauded and poſtponed of their Stipends, and, now, at laſt, it hath pleaſed God to move the hearts of the ſuperiour power, and the Eſtates of this Realm,* &c. A Narrative, which, it is probable, they would

(r) Pet. 363.

would not have uſed when the *Thirds* were, at firſt, *projected* for their Maintainance: Sure, I am, of a quite different ſtrain from *Knox*'s Reſentment, which I mentioned before. But by this time, Experience had taught them *to thank God for little*; and that it was even *Good to be getting ſomething*. However,

All this while they continued ſtill to have the ſame ſentiments concerning the *Patrimony* of the Church; that, unleſs God by immediate Revolution, ſhould *diſpenſe* with her *Right*, it belong'd to her *unalienably*; that it was *abominable Sacriledge* to defraud her of it; and that neither *Church* nor *State* could be *happy*, ſo long as *it* was ſo much in the hands of *Laicks*. And as they had ſtill theſe *ſentiments*, (and no wonder, ſo long as they had any *ſenſe* of Religion) ſo, they were ſtill uſing their beſt endeavours, trying all experiments, and watching all opportunities to bring the Nobility and Gentry to a reaſonable Temper; and to put the Church in poſſeſſion of her undoubted Revenues; but all in vain. On the contrary, theſe *Leeches* having once *taſted* of her *Blood*, were *thirſting* ſtill for *more*, and daily making farther Encroachments. For

A Parliament met in *Auguſt* 1571, and made ane "Act, obliging all the Subjects, "who in former times, had held their "Land and Poſſeſſions of Priors, Prioreſſes, "Convents of Friers and Nuns, &c. there-"after to hold them of the Crown. This

" was ane awakening, ane allaruming Act. " Theſe who, heretofore, had poſſeſt " themſelves of the Churches Patrimony, " had done it by *force*, or by *connivance*; " without *Law*, and without *Title*; ſo, there were ſtill hopes of recovering what was poſſeſt ſo *illegally*. But this was to give them *Law* on their ſide; As things ſtood then, it would be eaſy to obtain *Gifts*, now, that the King was made immediate Superiour; and then, there was no recovering of what was thus *colourably* poſſeſſed. So, I ſay it was ane *awakening Act* of Parliament; and indeed it *rouzed* the Spirits of the Clergy, and put them in a *quicker* motion. Now they began to ſee the Error of Drawing the *New Scheme* of *Polity* in the *Firſt Book* of *Diſcipline*, and receding from the *Old one*: Now they perceived ſenſibly that, that making of a *New one*, had *unhinged* all the Churches *Intereſts*, and *expoſed* her *Patrimony*, and made it a *Prey* to the *Ravenous Laity*; and that it was therefore, time, high time, for them to bethink themſelves, and try their ſtrength and skill, if poſſibly a ſtop could be put to ſuch notorious Robbery. (*s*) And ſo I am fairly introduced to

(*s*) Vide Spot. 258.

THE SECOND MODEL into which the Government of the Church was caſt, after the publick Eſtabliſhment of the Reformation. For

The *General Aſſembly* of the Church, meeting at *Stirling*, in that ſame month of *Auguſt*

Auguſt 1571. "Gave Commiſſion to cer-
"tain Brethren, to go to the Lord Regent
"his Grace, and to the Parliament, humbly
"to requeſt and deſire, in Name of the
"Kirk, the granting of ſuch Heads and
"Articles, and redreſs of ſuch Complaints,
"as ſhould be given to them by the Kirk,
&c. So it is in the *Mſs.* and ſo *Spotſwood* and *Petrie* have it. (*t*) Before I proceed, there is one ſeeming difficulty which muſt be removed; it is, that this *General Aſſembly* met before the Parliament. How then could it be that Act of Parliament which ſo awakened them? But the Solution is eaſy. In thoſe times, Parliaments did not ſit ſo long as they are in uſe to do now; but all things were prepared, and in readineſs, before the Parliament met. "Proclama-
"tion was made a month, or ſo, before the
"Parliament was to meet, requiring all
"*Bills* to be given in to the *Regiſter*, which
"were to be preſented in the ſucceeding
"Seſſion of Parliament, that they might be
"brought to the *King*, or *Regent*, to be per-
"uſed and conſidered by them, and only
"ſuch as they allowed were to be put into
"the *Chancellors* hands to be proponed to the
"Parliament, and none other, *&c.* Whoſo pleaſes may ſee this account given by King *James* the *Sixth* of *Scotland*, and *Firſt* of *England*, to his *Engliſh* Parliament, in his *Speech* dated 1607. Indeed the thing is notorious, and *Calderwood* himſelf gives a remarkable inſtance of this method, (*u*) for he

(*t*) Spot. 258. Pet. 371.

(*u*) Cald.

he tells how, in the end of *April*, or beginning of *May* 1621. *A Charge was publiſhed by Proclamation, commanding all that had Suits, Articles, or Petitions to propone to the Parliament, to give them into the Clerk of the Regiſter before the twentieth day of* May, *that by him they might be preſented to ſo many of the Council, who were appointed by his Majeſty to meet, ſome days before the Parliament, and to conſider the ſaid Bills, Petitions and Articles with Certification, that the ſame ſhould not be received, read, nor voted in Parliament, except they were paſſed under his Highneſs hand.* And yet the ſame *Calderwood* tells us, (*v*) That the Parliament was not appointed to meet till the *Twentieth and Third of July*; ſo that here were *two full months* between the giving in of the Bills, *&c.* and the Meeting of the Parliament. This being the Cuſtom in thoſe times, it is eaſy to conſider how the General Aſſembly, tho it met ſome days before the Parliament, might know very well what was to be done in Parliament; for if this *Bill* was allowed by the *then* Regent to be preſented, there was no doubt of its paſſing. And that it was very well known what the Parliament was to do in that matter, may be further evident from *John Knox*'s Letter directed, at that time, to the General Aſſembly, wherein he is earneſt with them, that *with all Uprightneſs and Strength in God, they gainſtand the mercyleſs Devourers of the Patrimony of the Church, telling them, that if Men will ſpoil, let them do it to their*

(*v*) b. 764.

their own Peril and Damnation; but it was their Duty to beware of communicating with their ſins, but by publick proteſtation to make it known to the world, That they were innocent of Robbery, which would, e're long, provoke Gods Vengeance upon the Committers, &c. From which nothing can be clearer, than that he had a ſpecial eye to that which was then in agitation, and to be done by the Parliament. (*) Having thus removed this ſeeming difficulty, I return to my purpoſe.

(*) * *For this Letter ſee* Spot. 258. *and* Pet. 370.

The Earl of *Lennox* was, then, *Regent*: He was murthered in the time of the Parliament: So, at that time, things were in confuſion, and theſe Commiſſioners from the General Aſſembly could do nothing in their buſineſs. The *Earl* of *Mar* ſucceeded in the *Regency*; Application was made to him. It was agreed to between his *Grace*, and the *Clergy* who applied to him, that a Meeting ſhould be kept between ſo many for the *Church*, and ſo many for the *State*, for adjuſting matters. For this end, ane Aſſembly was kept at *Leith*, on the 12 of *January* 157½. By this Aſſembly, *Six* were delegated to meet, with as *many* to be nominated by the *Council to treat, reaſon and conclude, concerning the Settlement of the Polity of the Church. After diverſe Meetings, and long Deliberation*, (as *Spotſwood* has it,(*w*)) *they came to an Agreement*, which was, in effect, That the *Old Polity* ſhould *revive*, and take place; only with ſome little alterations, which ſeemed neceſſary from

(*w*) Spot. 260.

from the Change that had been made in Religion. Whoſo pleaſes may ſee it more largely in *Calderwood*, (*x*) (who tells us, that the whole *Scheme* is *Regiſtred in the Books of Council*) more briefly, in *Spotſwood* and *Petrie*. (*y*) In ſhort,

(x) Cald. 50, &c.

(y) Spot. 260. Pet. 273.

It was a Conſtitution, much the ſame with that, which we have, ever ſince, had, in the times of *Epiſcopacy*. For by this Agreement, thoſe who were to have the *Old Prelatical power*, were alſo to have the *Old Prelatical Names* and *Titles*, of *Archbiſhops* and *Biſhops*; the *Old Diviſion* of the *Dioceſſes* was to take place; the *Patrimony* of the *Church* was to *run*, much, in the *Old Channel*; particularly, expreſs proviſion was made concerning *Chapters*, *Abbots*, *Priors*, &c. That they ſhould be continued, and enjoy their *Old Rights* and *Priviledges*, as *Churchmen*; and, generally, things were put in a regular Courſe.

This was the *Second Model* (not a *new* one) of *Polity*, eſtabliſhed, in the *Church* of *Scotland*, after the Reformation; at a pretty good diſtance, I think, from the Rules and Exigencies of *Parity*. The truth is, both *Calderwood* and *Petrie* acknowledge, it was *Imparity*, with a witneſs. The thing was ſo manifeſt, they had not the *brow* to deny it; all their Endeavours are only to impugne the Authority of this Conſtitution, or raiſe Clouds about it, or find Weakneſſes in it. So far as I can collect, no man ever affirmed, that, at this time, the *Government*

ment of the Church of *Scotland* was *Presbyterian*, except *G. R.* who is truly ſingular for his skill in theſe matters: But we ſhall have, ſome time or other, occaſion to conſider him. In the mean time let us conſider *Calderwood*'s and *Petrie*'s *Pleas* againſt this Eſtabliſhment. They may be reduced to theſe four.

1. *The Incompetency of the Authority of the Meeting at* Leith, *in* January 157½.

2. *The* Force *which was, at that time, put upon the Miniſters by the* Court, *which would needs have that Eſtabliſhment take place.*

3. *The Limitedneſs of the power, then granted to Biſhops.*

4. *The Reluctancies which the ſubſequent Aſſemblies diſcovered againſt that Eſtabliſhment.*

Theſe are the moſt material *Pleas*, they inſiſt on, and I ſhall conſider, how far they may hold. The

1. *Plea* is, the Incompetency of the Authority of the Meeting at *Leith*, *Jan.* 12. 157½. which gave Commiſſion to the *Six* for agreeing with the *State* to ſuch an Eſtabliſhment. "*It is not called ane Aſſembly, but* "*a Convention, in the Regiſter.* The ordinary "Aſſembly was not appointed to be holden "till the 6th of *March* thereafter.(*a*) As it "was only a Convention, ſo it was in very "great haſte, it ſeems, and took not time "to conſider things of ſuch importance, ſo "deliberately, as they ought to have been "conſidered. (*b*) It was a corrupt Con- "vention,

(*a*) Cal. 49. Pet. 372.

(*b*) Cal. 50. Pet. 373, 374.

"vention, for it allowed Maſter *Robert* "*Pont*, a Miniſter, to be a Lord of the "Seſſion. (*c*) Theſe are the Reaſons they inſiſt on to prove the Authority of that Meeting *incompetent*. And now to examine them briefly.

(*c*) Cal. 50. Pet. 375.

When I conſider theſe Arguments, and for what end they are adduced, I muſt declare, I cannot but admire the *Force* of *prejudice* and *partiality*, how much they *blind* mens Eyes, and *diſtort* their Reaſons, and *byaſs* them to the moſt ridiculous Undertakings. For,

What tho the next ordinary Aſſembly was not appointed to meet till *March* thereafter? Do not even the Presbyterians themſelves maintain the *Lawfulneſs*, yea, the *Neceſſity* of calling General Aſſemblies extraordinarily, upon extraordinary occaſions? *pro re nata* (as they call it)? How many, ſuch, have been called ſince the Reformation? How much did they inſiſt on this pretence *Anno* 1638? And,

What tho the *Regiſter* calls this Meeting a *Convention*? was it therefore no *Aſſembly*? Is there ſuch an oppoſition between the words, *Convention* and *Aſſembly*, that both cannot poſſibly ſignify the *ſame thing*? Doth not *Calderwood* acknowledge, that they *voted* themſelves ane Aſſembly, in their ſecond Seſſion? Doth he not acknowledge, that all the ordinary Members were there, which uſed to conſtitute Aſſemblies? But what if it can be found that ane undoubted, uncon-

uncontroverted Aſſembly, own'd it as ane Aſſembly; and its Authority, as the Authority of ane Aſſembly? What is become of this *fine* Argument then? But can this be done indeed? Yes, it can; and theſe ſame very Authors have given it in theſe ſame very Hiſtories (*d*), in which they uſe this as ane Argument, and not very far from the ſame very pages. Both of them (I ſay) tell, that the General Aſſembly holden at *Perth*, in *Auguſt* immediately thereafter, made ane Act which began thus, *Foraſmuch as the Aſſembly holden in* Leith, *in* January *laſt*, &c. (*d*) Cal. 57. Pet. 376.

But if it was ane Aſſembly, yet, *it was in too great haſte*, it did not things deliberately. Why ſo? No Reaſon is adduced, no Reaſon can be adduced, for ſaying ſo. The *Subject* they were to treat of was no *new one*; it was a Subject that had imployed all their Heads for ſeveral months before: Their great buſineſs, at that time, was to give a Commiſſion to *ſome Members* to meet with the *Delegates* of the *State*, to adjuſt matters about the *Polity* and *Patrimony* of the Church. This Commiſſion was not given till the *Third Seſſion*, as *Calderwood* himſelf acknowledges. (*e*) Where then, was the great *haſte*? Lay it in doing a thing in their *Third* Seſſion, which might have been done in the *Firſt*? (*e*) Cal. 49.

But were not theſe Commiſſioners in too great *haſte* to come to ane *Agreement* when they met with the *Delegates* of the *State*? Yes, if we may believe *Petrie*, for he ſays,

(*f*) *That*

(f) Pet. 353. (f) *That the ſame day* (viz. January 16.) *the Commiſſioners conveened and conclued*, &c. But he may ſay, with that ſame integrity, whatever he pleaſes. For, not to inſiſt on *Spotſwood*'s account, (g) who ſays, it was *after diverſe Meetings and long Deliberation*, that they came to their Concluſion; not to inſiſt on his authority, I ſay, becauſe he may be ſuſpected as partial; doth not *Calderwood* (h) expreſly acknowledge, that they began their Conference upon the *Sixteenth* of *January*, and (i) that matters were not *finally* concluded and ended till the *Firſt* of *February*?

(g) Spot. 260.

(h) Cal. 50.

(i) Ib. 55.

But was it not a *corrupt* Convention? Did it not allow *Pont*, a Miniſter, to be a *Lord* of the *Seſſion*? A mighty Demonſtration, ſure, of its Corruption! Well! Suppoſe it was a *Corruption*, was it ſuch a *plaguy one* as infected all the *other* Acts of that Convention? Is *one* corrupt Act of ane Aſſembly enough to reprobate *all* the reſt of its Acts? If ſo, I think, it will fare ill with a good many Aſſemblies. Whither was it a *Corruption* in ane *Aſſembly* to *oblige* men to *do pennance* for *doing* their *Duty*? to declare againſt the *Kings Negative Voice* in Parliament, and ſo to *Unking* him, *&c.*? But to go on, why ſhould *this* Aſſembly bear the whole Blame of this *Corruption*, if it was one? was it not ratified by a ſubſequent Aſſembly? And ſhould not *it* bear its ſhare? Both Authors knew this very well, for both of them record it: (k) It was the Aſſembly holden

(k) Cal. 62. Pet. 379.

holden at *Eden. March* 6. 1573. *The Regent craved ſome learned Men of the Miniſtery* (they are *Calderwood*'s own words) *to be placed Senators of the College of Juſtice. The Aſſembly, after reaſoning, at length, voted, that none was able to bear the ſaid two Charges, and therefore inhibited any Miniſter to take upon him to be a Senator of the College of Juſtice, Maſter* Robert Pont *only excepced, who was already placed with advice and conſent of the Kirk. Petrie* gives the ſame account, only he ends it thus, *By Advice*, &c. He thought it expedient, it ſeems, to conceal the mention made *of the Kirk*. And no doubt he did *wiſely, i. e.* ſuitably to his purpoſe; for *Calderwood* added it but fooliſhly, conſidering that there could not be a clearer Acknowledgement of the Authority of the *Convention* at *Leith*, than giving it thus the name of *The Kirk*; but what needs more? If this was a *Corruption*, it was *one*, even in the times of *Presbytery*, after the year 1580. For did not *Pont*, even then continue to be a *Lord* of the *Seſſion*? Or will our Brethren ſay, that 'tis a *fault* to *introduce* a Corruption, but it is *none* to *continue* it when it is *introduced*? All this is ſaid upon the ſuppoſition that it was a Corruption; tho I am not yet convinced that it was one, at leaſt ſo great a one as might have given ground for all this ſtir about it. I doubt, if the Members of this Aſſembly at *Leith*, had been through-paced *Parity-men*, vigorous for the *Good Cauſe*, it ſhould, no more have been a Corruption in them

to

to have allowed *Pont* to ſit as a *Lord* of *Seſſion*, than it was in the *Kirk*, once upon a day, to allow Mr. *Alexander Henderſon* to ſit as a Member of a *Committee*, you know for what. And ſo much for the firſt Plea, proceed we to the

2. *The Force, the Court, at that time, put upon the Clergy, to accept of that Eſtabliſhment.* *Calderwood* is mighty on this *Plea*. *The Superintendent of Angus* (who had a principal hand in the Agreement at *Leith*) *a man too tractable, might eaſily be induced, by his Chief, the Earl of* Mar, *Regent, for the time, to condeſcend to the Heads and Articles of this Book.* (*l*) And, *It was eaſy to the Court to obtain the Conſent of many Miniſters to this ſort of Epiſcopacy — Some being poor, ſome being covetous and ambitious, ſome not taking up the groſs Corruption of the Office, ſome having a Carnal Reſpect to ſome Noblemen their Friends.* (*m*) And how often doth he impute it all to the *Earl* of *Morton*? And *Calderwood*'s faithful Follower *G. R.* in his *Firſt Vindication*, &c. tells us that *the Convention of Churchmen met at* Leith *was too much influenced by the Court.* (*n*) Now for anſwer to all this, in the firſt place, what if one ſhould allow all that is alledged? will it follow from that allowance that *Prelacy* was not, then, agreed to? The Queſtion is not how it was done? but if it was done? For if it was done it is ane argument that the Clergy, then, thought little on the *indiſpenſibility* of *Parity*; or that they were very bad men, who, tho they believed that

(*l*) Cal. 55.

(*m*) Ib. § 6.

(*n*) p. 7.

that indiſpenſibility, did yet agree to Prelacy. 'Tis true, indeed, *Calderwood* makes them, here, every whit as bad as that could amount to:

He makes them a *pack* of poor, covetous, ambitious, ignorant, Carnal Rogues, who were thus *Court-ridden*. But behold the *Difference between Mercat days*, as we ſay; the ſame Author, when he comes, afterward, to tell who were appointed to compile the Second Book of Diſcipline, (a task agreeable to his temper) gives the ſame Men, who were Commiſſioners, at the Agreement at *Leith*, (for they were generally nominated for that work) a far different Character: *Our Kirk hath not had worthier men, ſince, nor of better Gifts.* (o) This might be enough; yet I will proceed further, becauſe what I have to ſay may be uſeful for coming by a juſt ſenſe of the ſtate of affairs in theſe times. I ſay therefore,

(o) Cal. 73.

That all this *Plea* is meer groundleſs *Noiſe* and *Fiction*. The *Court* had no imaginable reaſon for preſſing this Eſtabliſhment, which was not as proper for the Clergy to have inſiſted on; and the Clergy had one Reaſon more than the Court could pretend to.

The great Reaſons the *Court* could, *then*, inſiſt on, what elſe could they be, than that *Epiſcopacy* ſtood ſtill eſtabliſhed by *Law*? That according to the fundamental Conſtitution, which had obtained time out of mind, the Eccleſiaſticks had made *one* of

the *Three Eſtates* of Parliament? That ſuch ane Eſſential Alteration, in the civil Conſtitution, as behoved neceſſarily to reſult from the want of that *Eſtate*, being the *Firſt* of the *Three*, was infinitely dangerous at any time, as tending to turn the whole Conſtitution looſe, and ſhake the very Foundations of the Government? That it tended to the Subverſion of the High Court of Parliament, and naturally, and neceſſarily, inferred Eſſential Nullities in all the Meetings, the other *two Eſtates* could have, and all the Acts they could make? That it was more dangerous, at that time, during the Kings Minority, to have the Conſtitution ſo disjoynted, than on other occaſions? That whoſoever was *Regent*, or whoſoever were his *Counſellors*, might be called to ane account for it, when the King came to perfect Age? And it was obvious that it might eaſily be found *High Treaſon* in them, that they had ſuffered ſuch *Alterations*? That the beſt way to preſerve the Rights of the Church, and *put* her, and *keep* her in her Poſſeſſion of her Patrimony, was to *preſerve* that *Eſtate*? That the beſt way to *preſerve* that Eſtate, was to *continue* it in the old, tryed, wiſely digeſted, and long approven Conſtitution of it? What other arguments, I ſay, than theſe, or ſuch as were like them, can we conceive, the Court could then make uſe to perſwade the Clergy to agree to the *Old Polity*? Is it to be imagined they turn'd *Theologues*, and endeavoured to indoctrinate

doctrinate the Clergy, and convince them from Scripture, and Antiquity, and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, *&c.* that Epiſcopacy was of divine Inſtitution, or the beſt, or a lawful Government of the Church? If I miſtake not, ſuch Topicks, in theſe times were not much thought on, by our *Stateſmen*. But if they were ſuch Arguments as I have given a *Specimen* of, which they inſiſted on, as no doubt they were, if they inſiſted on any, then I would fain know, which of them it was that might not have been as readily inſiſted on by the *Clergy*, as by the *Stateſmen*? Nay, conſidering that there were no Scruples of Conſcience then, concerning the *Lawfulneſs* of ſuch a Conſtitution; how reaſonable is it to think, that the *Clergy* might be as forward as the *Stateſmen* could be, to inſiſt on theſe Arguments? Eſpecially if it be further conſidered, that,

Beſides theſe and the like Arguments, the Clergy had one very conſiderable Argument to move them for the Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Old Conſtitution*, which was, that they had found by Experience, that the *New Scheme* fallen upon in the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline* had done much hurt to the Church, as I have already obſerved; that by forſaking the *Old* Conſtitution, the Church had ſuffered too much already; and that it was high time, for them, now, to return to their *Old Fond*; conſidering at what loſſes they had been ſince they had deſerted it. And all this will appear more

reaſonable and credible ſtill, if two things more be duely conſidered. The

Firſt is, That the *Six* Clergymen who were commiſſioned by the Aſſembly, on this occaſion, to treat with the *State*, were all ſenſible men; men who underſtood the Conſtitution both of Church and State, had *Heads* to *comprehend* the conſequences of things, and were very far from being *Parity-men*. The

Second is, The *Oddneſs*, (to call it no worſe) of the Reaſon, which our Authors feign to have been the Motive which made the Court, at that time, ſo earneſt for ſuch ane Eſtabliſhment; namely, that thereby, *They might gripe at the Commodity*. (as *Calderwood* (*p*) words it) That is, poſſeſs themſelves of the Churches Patrimony. What? Had the Clergy ſo ſuddenly fallen from their daily, their conſtant, their continual *Claim* to the Revenues of the Church? Had they in ane inſtant, altered their ſentiments about *Sacrilege*, and things conſecrated to *Holy* uſes? Were they now willing to part with the Churches *Patrimony*? Did that which moved them to be ſo earneſt for this Meeting with the State, miraculouſly ſlip out of their Minds, ſo that they inconcernedly quate their pretenſions, and betrayed their own intereſts? Were they all faſt aſleep when they were at the Conference? So much aſleep, or ſenſeleſs, that they could not perceive the *Court* intended them ſuch a *Trick*? On the other hand, If

(*p*) Cal. 55.

If the Court had ſuch a deſign as is pretended, I muſt confeſs, I do not ſee how it was uſeful for them to fall on ſuch a *wild* project for accompliſhing their purpoſes. Why be at all this pains to re-eſtabliſh the *Old* Polity, if the only purpoſe was to *rob* the Church of her *Patrimony*? Might not that have been done without, as well as, with it? Could they have wiſhed the Church in weaker circumſtances for aſſerting her own Rights than ſhe was in, before this Agreement? Was it not as eaſy to have poſſeſt themſelves of a Biſhoprick, ane Abbacy, a Priory, *&c.* when there were no Biſhops, nor Abbots, nor Priors, as when there were? What a pitiful politick, or rather what ane inſolent wickedneſs was it, as it were, to take a Coat which was no mans, and put on one, and poſſeſs him of it, and call it his Coat, that they might rob him of it? Or, making the uncharitable ſuppoſition, that they could have ventured on ſuch a needleſs, ſuch a *mad fetch* of iniquity, were all the Clergy ſo ſhort-ſighted, that they could not penetrate into ſuch a palpable, ſuch a *groſs* piece of *Cheatry*? But what needs more?

'Tis certain that by that Agreement, the Churches Patrimony was fairly ſecured to her, and ſhe was put in far better condition than ſhe was ever in before, ſince the Reformation. Let any man read over *Calderwoods* account of the *Agreement*, and he muſt confeſs it: And yet perhaps the

account may be more full and clear, in the *Books* of *Council*, if they be extant.

'Tis true, indeed, the *Courtiers*, afterwards, played their *Tricks*, and *robb'd* the Church; and it cannot be denied, that they got ſome bad Clergymen, who were ſubſervient to their purpoſes: But this was ſo far from being pretended to be *aim'd* at, by theſe Courtiers, while the *Agreement* was a making; It was ſo far from theſe Clergymens minds, who adjuſted matters at that time with the Laity, (theſe Courtiers) to give them the ſmalleſt advantages that way, to allow them the leaſt Scope for ſuch Encroachments; That, on the contrary, when, afterwards, they found the Nobility were taking ſuch Methods, and plundering the Church; they complained mightily of it, as a manifeſt breach of the Agreement, and ane horrid iniquity.

But whatever Truth is in all this Reaſoning, I have ſpent on this point, is not much material to my main purpoſe: For, whither, at that time, Epiſcopacy was impoſed upon the Church or not; or, if impoſed, whither it was out of a bad deſign or not; affects not, in the leaſt, the principal Controverſie. For however it was, 'tis certain the Church accepted of it, at that time, which we are bound, in Charity, to think, a ſufficient Argument that ſhe was not then of *Antiprelatical* principles; She had no ſuch Article in her *Creed*, as the *Divine Right of Parity*; which is the great point

point I am concerned for in all this tedious Controverſie.

3. The *Third Plea*, is, The *Limitedneſs of the Power which was, then, granted to Biſhops.* They had no more Power granted them by this Eſtabliſhment, than Superintendents had enjoyed before. This all my Authors inſiſt upon with great Earneſtneſs. (*q*) And I confeſs it is very true: This was provided for both by the Agreement at *Leith*, and by ane Act of the Aſſembly holden at *Eden*. *March* 6. 1574. But then 1. If they had the *ſame power* which Superintendents had before, I think they had truly *Prelatic Power*; they did not act in *Parity* with other Miniſters. 2. Tho they had no more *power*, yet it is certain they had more *Privilege*: They were not anſwerable to their own *Synods*, but only to *General Aſſemblies*, as is clear, even from *Calderwoods* own account of the agreement at *Leith*. (*r*) In that point, the abſurd Conſtitution in the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline* was altered. 3. One thing more I cannot but obſerve, here, concerning Mr. *Calderwood*. This judicious Hiſtorian, when he was concerned to *raiſe Duſt* about the *Prelacy* of *Superintendents*, found eaſily 7 or 8 *huge* Differences between *Superintendents* and *Biſhops*. And now, that he is concern'd to *raiſe Duſt* about the *Prelacy* of Biſhops, he thinks he has gain'd a great point if he makes it the ſame with the *Prelacy* of Superintendents. What a mercy was it that ever poor Prelacy out-lived the *Dint* of ſuch

(*q*) Cal. 51, 55, 56, 66. Pet. 374, 383. G. R. 1 *Vind.* p. 2.

(*r*) Cal 51.

doughty Onſets? But it ſeems it muſt be a *tough-lived* thing, and cannot be eaſily *chaſed* out of its Nature.

There is another conſiderable Thruſt made at it by *Calderwood*, and his Diſciple G. *R.* (*s*) which may come in as a *Succedaneum* to the former Argument: What is it? It is even, that in the Gen. Aſſembly at *Eden*, *March* 6. 1573. David Ferguſon *was choſen Moderator, who was neither Biſhop nor Superintendent.* And ſo down falls *Prelacy!* But ſo was honeſt *George Buchanan*, in the Aſſembly holden in *July* 1567. who was neither *Superintendent*, *Biſhop*, nor *Presbyter*, and ſo Down falls *Presbytery*! Nay Down falls the whole Miniſtery! Is not this a hard *Lock*, Prelacy is brought to, that it ſhall not be it ſelf, ſo long as one wrong ſtep can be found to have been made by a *Scotch General Aſſembly*?

(*s*) Cal. 61. G. R. 1 *Vind.* 7.

I have adduced and diſcuſſed all theſe *Plea's*, not that I thought my Cauſe in any hazard by them; but to let the World ſee, what a party one has to deal with in this Controverſie: Whatever it be, Senſe or Nonſenſe, if their Cauſe requires it; they muſt not want an Argument. But to go on. But

4. The *Fourth*, and greateſt *Plea*, is, *That this Epiſcopacy was never owned by the Church: It was never allowed by the General Aſſembly.* (*a*) *It was only tolerated for three or four years.* (*b*) *It was proteſted againſt as a Corruption.* (*c*) *As theſe Articles were concluded without the Knowledge*

(*a*) Cal. 56. Pet. 389. G. R. 1 *Vind.* 7. (*b*) Cal. 56. (*c*) Cal. 58. G. R. 7.

ledge of the Aſſembly, ſo the whole Aſſembly oppoſed them earneſtly. (d) *They were obtruded upon the Church, againſt her Will.* (e) *The Church from the beginning of the Reformation oppoſed that kind of Biſhops.* (f) *The Church did only, for a time, yield to Civil Authority, yet ſo that ſhe would endeavour to be free of theſe Articles.* (g)

(d) Pet. 376.
(e) p. 383.
(f) p. 387.
(g) p. 376.

Theſe and many more ſuch things are boldly and confidently aſſerted by *Calderwood*, *Petrie*, and the *ſtrenuous Vindicator* of the Church of *Scotland*, who ſeldom miſſes of ſaying what *Calderwood* had ſaid before him; and I ſhall grant they are all ſaid to purpoſe, if they are true: But how far they are from being that may ſufficiently appear, I hope, if I can make theſe things evident.

1. That the Agreement at *Leith* was fairly and frequently allowed, approven, and inſiſted on, by many ſubſequent Aſſemblies.

2. That after Epiſcopacy was queſtioned, and a Party appeared againſt it, it coſt them much ſtrugling, and much time, before they could get it aboliſhed.

1. I ſay, The *Agreement* at *Leith* was fairly and frequently allowed, approven, and inſiſted on, by many ſubſequent Aſſemblies. This Aſſertion cannot but appear true to any unbyaſſed Judgment, that ſhall conſider but theſe two things.

1. That, in *Every Aſſembly*, for ſeveral years, after that Eſtabliſhment, or *Agreement*, or Settlement at *Leith*, Biſhops were preſent,

preſent, and ſate, and voted as ſuch; and, as ſuch, were obliged to be preſent, and ſit, and vote, *&c.* As both *Calderwood* and *Petrie* acknowledge, and ſhall be made appear by and by.

2. That theſe two Authors have been at ſpecial pains, to let the world know, how punctually they were tryed, and ſometimes rebuked and cenſured for not diſcharging their Offices, as they ought to have done. Both Authors, I ſay, have been very intent and careful to repreſent this in their accounts of the ſubſequent Aſſemblies. I know their purpoſe, herein, was to expoſe the Biſhops, and caſt all the *Dirt*, they could, upon *Epiſcopacy*. But then, as I take it, their pains, that way, have *luckily* furniſhed me with a plain Demonſtration of the falſehood of all they have ſaid, in this *Plea*, I am now conſidering: For

Would theſe Aſſemblies have ſuffered them to be *preſent*, and *ſit*, and *vote* as *Biſhops*? Would they have *tryed* and *cenſured* them as *Biſhops*? Would they have put them to their *Duty* as *Biſhops*, if they had not *own'd* them for Biſhops? And was there any other *Fond* for owning them for Biſhops, at that time, except the *Agreement* at *Leith*? This alone might be ſufficient, I ſay, for diſpatching this whole *Plea*. Yet

3. To put this matter beyond all poſſibility of ever being, with the leaſt colour of probability, controverted hereafter; I recommend to the Readers conſideration, the following

following *Series* of Acts made by ſubſequent Aſſemblies.

The *Agreement* at *Leith*, as was obſerved before, was concluded, on the *Firſt* day of *February*, *Anno* 157½. The Ordinary Aſſembly met at *Saint Andrews*, on the *Sixth* of *March* thereafter: *The Archbiſhop of St. Andrews* (newly advanced to that See, by the *Leith* Agreement) *was preſent*, and *the firſt perſon named* (as *Calderwood* himſelf hath it, (*h*)) *to be of the Committee that was appointed for Reviſing the Articles agreed upon at Leith:* And ane Act was made in that Aſſembly, (as it is both in the *Mſs.* and *Petrie*(*i*)) *Ordaining the Superintendent of* Fife *to uſe his own Juriſdiction, as before, in the Provinces not ſubject to the Archbiſhop of* St. Andrews; *and requeſting him to concur with the ſaid Archbiſhop, in his Viſitations, or otherwiſe, when he required him, until the next Aſſembly— And in like manner, the Superintendents of* Angus *and* Lothian, *without prejudice of the ſaid Archbiſhop, except by Vertue of his Commiſſion.*

(*b*) Cal. 56.

(*i*) Pet. 375.

By the Aſſembly holden at *Perth*, *Auguſt* 6. 1572. this Act was made: *Foraſmuch as in the* ASSEMBLY (not the Convention) *of the Church holden at* Leith, *in* January *laſt, Certain Commiſſioners were appointed to deal with the Nobility, and their Commiſſioners, to reaſon and conclude upon diverſe Articles and Heads, thought good, then, to be conferred upon; according to which Commiſſion, they have proceeded in ſundry Conventions,* (is this conſiſtent with *Petrie*'s aſſertion, that, the

the ſame day, they met and concluded?) *and have concluded for that time, upon the Heads and Articles as the ſame produced, in this Aſſembly, proport: In which, being conſidered, are found certain Names, as* Archbiſhop, Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, Chapter, *which Names are thought ſlanderous and offenſive in the Ears of many of the Brethren, appearing to* ſound *towards Papiſtry; Therefore, the whole Aſſembly in one voice, as well they who were in Commiſſion at* Leith, *as others, ſolemnly proteſt, that they mean not, by uſing ſuch Names, to ratify, conſent, or agree to any* kind *of* Papiſtrie *or* Superſtition; *wiſhing rather the ſaid* Names *to be changed into other* Names, *that are not* ſcandalous *and* offenſive; *and, in like manner, they* proteſt, *That the ſaid Heads and Articles agreed upon, be only received as ane* Interim, *until farther, and more perfect Order be obtained, at the hands of the Kings Majeſties Regent and Nobility: For the which, they will preſs, as occaſion ſhall ſerve. Unto the which* Proteſtation *the whole Aſſembly, in one voice, adhere.* So the *Mſs. Spot. Cald. Pet.* (*k*)

(*k*) Spot. 260. Cald. 57. Pet. 376.

This is the Act, on which, *Calderwood, Petrie*, and *G. R.* found their aſſertion, That Epiſcopacy, *as agreed to at Leith* was *proteſted* againſt, and earneſtly oppoſed, by a General Aſſembly; but with what Shadow of Reaſon, let any Man conſider: For, what can be more plain, than, that they *receive* the ſubſtance of the Articles, and only *proteſt* againſt the Scandalouſneſs of the Names uſed in them? What reaſon they had

had for that, beſides the over-zealous Principle I mentioned before, let the curious enquire: That's none of my preſent buſineſs.

But, *They proteſt that they receive theſe Articles only for ane* Interim: True; But how doth it appear that they received them only for ane *Interim, out of a* Diſlike *to* Epiſcopacy? *Had they believed the Divine Right of Parity,* how could they have received them ſo much as, for ane *Interim?* How could they have received them *at all?* The Truth is, there were many things in the *Articles* which required amendment, even tho the Gen. Aſſ. had believed the *Divine Right* of *Epiſcopacy*. And that they did not *receive* them, for ane *Interim*, upon the account of any *Diſlike* they had to *Epiſcopacy*, ſhall be made evident, by and by. In the mean time, we have gained one point, even, *That they were received by this Aſſembly*; unleſs *receiving* for an *Interim* be not *receiving*: But if they were *received*, I hope it is not *true*, that *they were never allowed by a General Aſſembly*. And if *Epiſcopacy* was not *proteſted* againſt *at all*, and if there was no ſuch *word* or *phraſe* in the Act, as had the leaſt Tendency to import that they judged it a *Corruption*, I hope, it may conſiſt well enough with the Laws of Civility, to ſay that *G. R.* was talking *without Book*, when he ſaid, *It was proteſted againſt as a Corruption*, by this General Aſſembly. I doubt, if he had found any of the *Prelatiſts* talking with ſo *much* Confidence, where they had ſo *little* ground, he would have

have been at his beloved *Lies and Calumnies.* But enough of this, proceed we in our *Series.*

By the Univerſal Order (ſo it is worded in the *Mſs.*) *of the General Aſſ.* holden at *Eden. March* 6. 157$\frac{2}{3}$. *It was Statuted and Ordained, that all Biſhops, Superintendents,* &c. *preſent themſelves in every Gen. Aſſ. that hereafter ſhall be holden, the firſt day of the Aſſembly before Noon,* &c. (*l*) Again, *It is thought moſt reaſonable and expedient, That Biſhops,* &c. *purchaſe General Letters, without any delay, commanding all Men to frequent Preaching and Prayers according to the Order received in the Congregations,* &c.(*m*)

(*l*) Mſs. Pet. 379.

(*m*) Mſs. Pet. ibid.

In the Aſſ. holden at *Eden. Aug* 6. 1573. *The Viſitation Books of Biſhops,* &c. *were produced, and certain Miniſters appointed to examin their Diligence in Viſitation.* (*n*) In that ſame Aſſembly, *Patoun,* Biſhop of *Dunkeld,* was accuſed that he had accepted the *Name,* but had not *exerciſed* the *Office* of a *Biſhop,* not having proceeded againſt Papiſts, within his bounds. He was alſo *ſuſpected* of *Simony* and *Perjury,* in that, contrary to his Oath, at the receiving of the Biſhoprick, he gave *Acquittances,* and the *Earl* of *Argyle* received the *Profits.* (*o*) If theſe things were true, he was a *fooliſh,* as well as a *bad* Biſhop. But then it was evident, that this Aſſembly fairly *own'd* Epiſcopacy. Further, that by the *Agreement* at *Leith,* expreſs proviſions were made againſt *Simony* and *Dilapidation* of Benefices; and that Biſhops ſhould ſwear to that purpoſe, *&c.* which, I think, is not well

(*n*) Mſs. Pet. ibid.

(*o*) Pet. ib.

well conſiſtent with the *Plea* inſiſted on, before, *viz.* That the *Agreement* at *Leith* was *forced* on the *Clergy*, by the *Court*, out of a *deſign*, *it* had, upon the *Revenues* of the *Church*.

I find theſe further Acts made by this Aſſembly, in the *Mſs.*

Touching them that receive Excommunicates, the whole Kirk, preſently aſſembled, ordains all Biſhops, &c. *to proceed to Excommunication againſt all Receivers of Excommunicate perſons, if after due Admonition the Receivers rebel and be diſobedient.*

The Kirk ordains all Biſhops, &c. *in their Synodal Conventions, to take a Liſt of the Names of the Excommunicates, within their Juriſdictions; and bring them to the General Aſſemblies, to be publiſhed, to other Biſhops and Superintendents,* &c. *That they, by their Miniſters, in their Provinces, may divulgate the ſame, in the whole Countries, where Excommunicates haunt.*

The Kirk preſently aſſembled, ordains all Biſhops and Superintendents, &c. *to conveen before them, all ſuch perſons as ſhall be found ſuſpected of conſulting with Witches; and finding them guilty, to cauſe them make publick Repentance,* &c.

That Uniformity may be obſerved in proceſſes of Excommunication, It is ordained that Biſhops, and Superintendents, &c. *ſhall direct their Letters to Miniſters, where the perſons that are to be Excommunicated dwell; commanding the ſaid Miniſters to admoniſh accordingly, and in Caſe of Diſobedience, to proceed to Excommunication,*

and

and pronounce the Sentence thereof, upon a Sunday, in time of Preaching; and, thereafter, the Miniſters to indorſe the ſaid Letters, making mention of the days of their Admonitions, and Excommunication, for Diſobedience aforeſaid, and to report to the ſaid Biſhops, &c. *according to the Direction contained in the ſaid Letters.*

(p) Ib. 380. *Petrie* (p) has the ſubſtance of moſt of theſe Acts, but has been at pains to *obſcure* them. And no wonder; for here are ſo many *Branches* of *true Epiſcopal power*, eſtabliſhed in the perſons of theſe Biſhops, that it could not but have appeared very ſtrange, that a General Aſſembly ſhould have conferred them on them, if there was ſuch ane averſion then, to the *Order*, as he and his Fellows are willing to have the world believe, there was. But

Honeſt *Calderwood* was wiſer; for he hath not ſo much as ane intimation of any *one* of them. And *Calderwood* having thus concealed them, nay, generally, all alongſt, whatever might make againſt his Cauſe, as much as he could; what wonder if *G. R.* who knows nothing in the matter, but what *Calderwood* told him, ſtumbled upon ſuch a notable piece of Ignorance, in his firſt Vindication, as to tell the world, That *Nothing was reſtored at* Leith *but the Image of Prelacy? That theſe Tulchan Biſhops had only the Name of Biſhops, while Noblemen and others had the Revenue, and the Church all the power?* Nay, *That*, notwithſtanding of all, was done at *Leith*, *The real Exerciſe of Presbytery, in all*

all its Meetings leſſer and greater, continued and was allowed? But of this more hereafter.

The Aſſembly, holden at *Eden. March 6. 1574. Concluded concerning the Juriſdiction of Biſhops, in their Eccleſiaſtical Function, that it ſhould not exceed the Juriſdiction of Superintendents, which, heretofore, they have had, and preſently have: And that they ſhould be ſubject to the Diſcipline of the General Aſſ. as Members thereof, as Superintendents had been heretofore, in all ſorts.* And again, This Aſſembly *Ordains, That no Biſhop give Collation of any Benefice within the bounds of Superintendents within his Dioceſs, without their Conſent and Teſtimonials, ſubſcribed with their hands: And that Biſhops, within their Dioceſſes viſit by themſelves, where no Superintendent is; and give no Collation of Benefices without the Conſent of three well qualified Miniſters.*

Here indeed both *Calderwood* and *Petrie* (*q*) appear briskly, and tranſcribe the *Mſs.* word for word: Here was ſomething like limiting the power of the Biſhops; and that was ane opportunity not to be omitted. But, as I take it, there was no very great reaſon for this *Triumph*, if the true reaſon of theſe Acts be conſidered, as it may be collected from *Spotſwood* and *Petrie* (*r*) which was this,

(*q*) Cald. 66. Pet. 383.

(*r*) Spot. 272. Pet. 383.

The *Earl* of *Morton*, then *Regent*, and ſordidly covetous, had flattered the Church out of their Poſſeſſion of the *Thirds* of the Benefices; the only ſure *Stock*, they could as yet *claim*, by any Law, made ſince the

Reformation of Religion; promiſing, inſtead thereof, to ſettle *local'd Stipends* upon the Miniſters; but having once obtain'd his end, which was to have the *Thirds* at his Diſpoſal, he forgot his promiſe; and the Miniſters found themſelves miſerably *trickt*. Three or four Churches were caſt together, and committed to the Care of one Miniſter; and a Farthing, to live by, could not be got, without vaſt attendance, trouble and importunity. Beſides, the Superintendents, who had had a principal hand in the Reformation, and were Men of great Repute, and had ſpent liberally of their own Eſtates in the Service of the Church, were as ill treated as any body: For when they ſought their wonted allowances, they were told, there was no more uſe for them; Biſhops were now reſtored; it was *their* Province to govern the Church: Superintendents were now ſuperfluous and unneceſſary. The Superintendents thus Mal treated, what wonder was it if they had their own Reſentments of it? So, when the General Aſſembly met, *Areskin*, *Spotſwood* and *Winram*, three of them (and, by that time, 'tis probable, there were no more of them alive) came to the Aſſembly, offered to dimit their Offices, and were earneſt that the Kirk would accept of their Dimiſſion: They were now turn'd uſeleſs Members of the Eccleſiaſtical body; their Office was evacuated; they could ſerve no longer. The whole Aſſembly could

cõuld not but know the matter; and as they knew for what reaſons theſe ancient and venerable perſons were ſo much irritated, ſo their own concern, in the ſame common intereſt, could not but prompt them to a fellow-feeling; they knew not how ſoon the next *Mortonian Experiment* might be tryed upon themſelves; they, therefore, unanimouſly, refuſe to accept of the Dimiſſion, and whither the *Superintendents* will or not, they continue them in their Offices; and not only ſo, but they thought it expedient to renew that *Article* of the *Agreement* at *Leith*, viz. "*That Biſhops and Superinten-*"*dents* ſtood on the ſame Level, had the "ſame Power, the ſame Eccleſiaſtical "Juriſdiction; and were to be regulated by "the ſame Canons: Importing thereby, that both were uſeful in the Church at ſuch a juncture; and that the Church had not received Biſhops to the *Exauctoration* of the few ſurviving Superintendents; and now, in their old age, rendring them contemptible. And who could condemn the Aſſembly for taking a courſe that was both ſo natural and ſo obvious? Nay, it was even the *Biſhops intereſt*, as much as any other *Aſſembly-mens* to agree to this concluſion; For the great buſineſs in hand, was not about *Extent* of *Power*, or *Point* of *Dignity*; had no Incentive to *Jealouſie* or *Emulation* in it; but it was about the *Revenues* of the *Church*: To ſecure theſe againſt the inſatiable Avarice of a *Griping* Lord *Regent*. A

point the Biſhops were as nearly concerned in as any Men: For if theſe three Superintendents, who had ſo long born the heat of the day, and done ſuch eminent and extraordinary ſervices to the Church, ſhould be once ſacrificed to *Mortons* Covetouſneſs, how eaſy might it be for him to make what farther Encroachments he pleaſed? How eaſy, to carry on his project againſt other men, who perhaps, had no ſuch Merit, no ſuch Repute, no ſuch Intereſt in the Affections of the People? This, I ſay, was the Reaſon for which theſe two Acts were made in this Aſſembly; and not that the Aſſembly were turning *weary* of Biſhops, or were become, any way, diſaffected to them. So that *Calderwood* and *Petrie* had but little reaſon to be ſo *boaſtful* for theſe *two Acts*.

That it was not out of any *Diſlike* to Epiſcopacy, that theſe *two Acts* were made, is clear, as Light, from the next Aſſembly, which met in *Auguſt* 1574. For therein the Clergy manifeſtly continuing of the ſame Principles, and proceeding on the ſame Reaſons, order a *Petition* conſiſting of *Nine Articles*, to be drawn, and preſented to the Regent. *Calderwood*, indeed, doth not mention this *Petition*. But it is in the *Mſs.* and *Petrie* (s) talks of it, but diſingenuouſly; for he mentions it only *Overly*, telling, That *ſome Articles were ſent unto the Lord Regent*; and he ſets down but *two*, whereas, as I ſaid, there are *Nine* in the *Mſs.* and

(s) Pet. 384.

and moſt of them looking the Regents *Sacrilegious* inclinations even *Staringly* in the *Face.* I ſhall only Tranſcribe ſuch of them as cannot, when perpended, but be acknowledged to have tended that way. They are theſe:

1. *That Stipends be granted to Superintendents, in all time coming, in all Countreys deſtitute thereof; whither it be where there is no Biſhop, or where there are Biſhops, who cannot diſcharge their Office, as the Biſhops of* St. Andrews *and* Glaſgow; who had too large Dioceſſes. This Article *Petrie* hath but *Minc'd:* Indeed it is a very conſiderable one; For here you ſee, 1. That, in contradiction to the Regents purpoſes, the Aſſembly *owns* and *ſtands by* the *Superintendents*: They are ſo far from being ſatisfied to part with the *Three,* they had; that, on the contrary, they crave to have more, and to have proviſions for them; and that, in all Countries, where Biſhops either *are not*; or *are,* but have too *large Dioceſſes.* 2. They crave theſe things *For all times coming*; a Clauſe of ſuch importance to the main Queſtion, that *Petrie* has, *unfaithfully*, left it out: And truly, I muſt confeſs, if it were lawful for Men to be *Unfaithful,* when it might ſerve that which they conceived to be a *Good End,* he had great Reaſon, to try it, in this inſtance: For this *Clauſe,* when (not concealed, but) brought above board, gives a fatal Overthrow, to all theſe *popular Plea's* of Epiſcopacy's being then obtruded on

the Church; forced upon her againſt her Will; tolerated only for a time, *&c.* For, from this *Clauſe*, it is as *clear*, as a *Clauſe* can make it, that this Aſſembly entertain'd no ſuch imaginations. They ſuppoſed Epiſcopacy was to continue *for all time coming*, For, *for all time Coming*, they petition that proviſion may be made for Superintendents, *where no Biſhops are, or where their Dioceſſes are too large for them.*

2. The Second Article is, *That in all Burghs, where the Miniſters are diſplaced, and ſerve at other Kirks, theſe Miniſters be reſtored to wait on their Cures, and be not obliged to ſerve at other Churches*, &c. Directly ſtriking againſt the Regents *politick* of *Uniting three* or *four* Churches under the *Care* of *one* Miniſter. The

4. (Which *Petrie* alſo hath) is, *That in all Churches deſtitute of Miniſters, ſuch perſons may be planted as the Biſhops, Superintendents and Commiſſioners ſhall name; and that Stipends be aſſigned to them.* Ane Article, viſibly, levell'd as the former.

5. *That Doctors may be placed in Univerſities; and Stipends granted them; whereby, not only they who are preſently placed may have occaſion to be diligent in their Cure; but other learned Men may have Occaſion to ſeek places in Colleges.* Still to the ſame purpoſe, *viz.* the finding reaſonable Uſes for the Patrimony of the Church.

6. *That his Grace would take a General Order with the poor, eſpecially in the Abbeys, ſuch as*

are

are Aberbrothoick, *&c. Conform to the Agreement at* Leith. Here, not only the *Leith-Agreement* inſiſted on; but farther *pious Uſe* for the Churches *Patrimony*.

9. *That his Grace would cauſe the Books of the Aſſignation of the Kirk, be delivered to the Clerk of the General Aſſembly.* Theſe Books of Aſſignation, as they call them, were the Books, wherein the Names of the Miniſters, and their ſeveral proportions of the *Thirds* were Recorded: It ſeems they were earneſt to be repoſſeſſed of their *Thirds*, ſeeing the Regent had not kept promiſe to them. But

The Eighth Article, which, (by a pardonable inverſion, I hope) I have reſerved to the laſt place, is, of all, the moſt conſiderable. It is, *That his Grace would provide Qualified perſons for Vacant Biſhopricks.* Let the candid Reader judge, now, if *Epiſcopacy*, by the *Leith-Articles* was *forced* upon the *Church* againſt *her Inclinations?* If it was never approven (when Biſhops were thus petitioned for) by a General Aſſembly? If it be likely that the Aſſembly in *Auguſt* 1572. proteſted againſt it as a Corruption? If the Acts of the laſt Aſſembly, declaring Biſhops to have no more power than Superintendents had, and making them accountable to the General Aſſembly, proceeded from any *Diſlike* of Epiſcopacy? If this Aſſembly, petitioning thus for Biſhops, believed the *divine* and *indiſpenſible inſtitution of Parity?* If both *Calderwood* and *Petrie* acted

not as became *Cautious Prethyterian Hiſtorians*; the *One*, by giving us *None*, the other, by giving us only a *Minced* account of this *Petition*? Well!

By this time, I think, I have not intirely diſappointed my Reader: I think, I have made it competently appear, That the *Agreement* at *Leith* was fairly and frequently allowed, approven, and inſiſted on, by not a few ſubſequent General Aſſemblies. I could adduce ſome Acts more of the next Aſſ. which met at *Eden. March* 7. 1575. But, I think, I have already made good my Undertaking, and therefore I ſhall inſiſt no further on this point: Only *One* thing I muſt add further; It is this.

After the moſt impartial, narrow, and attentive Search, I could make, I have not found, all this while, *viz.* from the firſt publick Eſtabliſhment of the Reformed Religion in *Scotland*, *Anno* 1560. ſo much as *One Indication* of either publick or private *Diſlike* to *Prelacy*; But that it, conſtantly, and uninterruptedly, prevailed, and all perſons, chearfully as well as quietly ſubmitted to it, till the year 1575. when it was firſt called in Queſtion. And here I might fairly ſhut up this long, and perhaps nauſeous Diſcourſe, upon the Second Enquiry which I propoſed: For, whatever Men our Reformers were, whatever their other principles might be; I think I have made it plain, that they were *not* for the *Divine Right of Parity*, or the *Unlawfulneſs*

of

of the Superiority of any Office in the Church, above Presbyters: No ſuch principle was profeſſed, or inſiſted on, or offered to be reduced to practice, by them, *Before*, *At*, or full fifteen years *After* the publick Eſtabliſhment of the Reformation: And if this *may not* paſs for ſufficient proof of the truth of my *Reſolution* of the *Enquiry*, I know not what *may*. However, becauſe

THE SECOND thing I promiſed to ſhew, tho not preciſely neceſſary to my main deſign, may yet be ſo far uſeful, as to bring conſiderably more of *Light* to it; and withal, give the world a proſpect of the *Riſe* and *Progreſs* of *Presbytery* in *Scotland*, I ſhall endeavour to make good my Undertaking; which was, that, after *Epiſcopacy* was queſtion'd, it was not *eaſily* overturn'd; Its Adverſaries met with much Reſiſtance, and Oppoſition, in their Endeavors to ſubvert it. I ſhall ſtudy brevity as much as the weight of the matter will allow me. In ſhort then; take it thus.

Maſter *Andrew Melvil*, after ſome years ſpent at *Geneva*, returned to *Scotland* in *July* 1574. He had lived, in that City, under the influences of *Theodore Beza*, the *true parent* of *Presbytery*. He was a Man, by Nature, fierce and fiery, confident and peremptory, peeviſh and ungovernable: Education, in him, had not ſweetned Nature, but Nature had ſowred Education; and both conſpiring together, had trickt him up into a true Original; a piece compounded

pounded of pride and petulance, of jeer and jangle, of Satyr and Sarcaſm; of venome and vehemence: He hated the *Crown* as much as the *Mitre*, the *Scepter* as much as the *Croſier*, and could have made as bold with the *Purple* (*a*) as with the *Rochet*: (*b*) His *prime Talent* was *Lampooning* and writing *Anti-tami-Cami-Categorias's*. In a word, He was the very *Archetypal Bitter Beard* of the *Party*.

(*a*) Cald. 329.

(*b*) Ib. 548.

This Man thus accoutred, was ſcarcely warm at home, when he began to diſſeminate his ſentiments, inſinuate them into others, and make a *party* againſt *Prelacy*, and for the *Genevian Model*. For this I need not depend on *Spotſwoods* Authority, tho he aſſerts it plainly: (*c*) I have a more *Authentick* Author for it, if more Authentick can be: I have *Melvil* himſelf for it, in a Letter to *Beza* dated *Novem.* 13. 1579. (to be found both in *Petrie* (*d*) and in the Pamphlet called *Vindiciæ Philadelphi*, from which *Petrie* had it) of which Letter, the very firſt words are, *we have not ceaſed theſe five years to fight againſt Pſeudepiſcopacy, &c.* Now reckon *five years* backward, from *Novem.* 1579. and you ſtand at *November* 1574. whereby we find that within three or four Months, after his arrival, the *Plot* was begun, tho' it was near to a year thereafter, before it came above-board.

(*c*) Spot. 275.

(*d*) Pet. 401.

Having thus *projected* his work, and formed his *party*, the next care was to get one to *Table* it fairly: He himſelf was but lately

ly come home; he was much a Stranger in the Country, having been ten years abroad: He had been but at very few General Aſſemblies, if at any; his influence was but *green* and *budding*; his Authority but *young* and *tender*: It was not fit for him, amongſt his Firſt Appearances, to propoſe ſo great ane Innovation. And, it ſeems, the *Thinking Men* of his Party, however reſolutely they might promiſe to *back* the Motion, when, once, fairly *Tabled*, were yet a little *ſhy* to be the *firſt* Propoſers: So, it fell to the ſhare of *one*, who, at that time, was none of the greateſt *Stateſmen*.

John Durie, one of the Miniſters of *Edenburgh*, was the perſon; as *Spotſwood* deſcribes him, (*e*) *A ſound hearted Man, far from all Diſſimulation, open, profeſſing what he thought, earneſt and zealous in his Cauſe, whatever it was; but too too credulous, and eaſily to be impoſed on.* However, (that I may do him as much juſtice, as *Spotſwood* has done him before me.) A Man he was, who thought no Shame to acknowledge his Error, when he was convinced of it. For ſo it was, that, when, after many years Experience, he had ſatisfied himſelf, that *Parity* had truly proved the *Parent* of *Confuſion*, and diſappointed all his Expectations; and when, through Age and Sickneſs, he was not able, in perſon, to attend the General Aſſembly, *Anno* 1600. he gave Commiſſion to ſome Brethren to tell them, as from him, *That there was a Neceſſity of reſtoring the Ancient Government*

(*e*) Spot. 457.

Government of the Church, &c. Such was the Man, I ſay, to whoſe ſhare it fell to be the *firſt*, who, publickly, queſtioned the *Lawfulneſs* of *Prelacy* in *Scotland*; which was not done till the *Sixth* day of *Auguſt* 1575. as I ſaid before, no leſs than full fifteen years after the firſt legal Eſtabliſhment of our *Scottiſh* Reformation. And ſo I come to my purpoſe.

On this *Sixth* of *Auguſt* 1575. the *Gen. Aſſ.* met at *Edenburgh*, according to the Order, then, obſerved in General Aſſemblies; the *Firſt* thing done, after the Aſſembly was conſtituted, was, the Tryal of the Doctrine, Diligence, Lives, *&c.* of the Biſhops and other conſtant Members: So, while this was a doing, *John Duxie* ſtood up and proteſted, *That the Tryal of the Biſhops might not prejudge the Opinions and Reaſons, which he and other Brethren of his Mind, had, to propoſe againſt the Office and Name of a Biſhop.* (*f*) Thus was the *fatal* Controverſie ſet on *foot*, which, ſince, hath brought ſuch Miſeries and Calamities on the *Church* and *Kingdom* of *Scotland*.

(*f*) Mſs. Pet. 385. Spot. 275. Cald. 68.

The *Hare* thus *ſtarted*, *Melvil*, the Original *Huntſman*, ſtrait purſued her: He preſently began a long, and, no doubt, premeditated Harangue; commended *Durie*'s Zeal, enlarged upon the flouriſhing State of the Church of *Geneva*, inſiſted on the Sentiments of *Calvin* and *Beza* concerning *Church Government*; and, at laſt affirmed, *That none ought to be Office-bearers in the Church, whoſe*

whoſe Titles were not found in the Book of God: That tho the Title of Biſhops was found in Scripture, yet, it was not to be underſtood in the Senſe, then, current: That Jeſus Chriſt, the only Lord of his Church, allowed no Superiority amongſt the Miniſters, but had inſtituted them all, in the ſame Degree, and had endued them with equal power: Concluding, *That the Corruptions, which had crept into the Eſtate of Biſhops were ſo great, as, unleſs the ſame were removed, it could not go well with the Church, nor could Religion be long preſerved in Purity.* (*g*)

(*g*) Spot. 275. Pet. 387.

The Controverſie thus plainly ſtated, *Mr. David Lindeſay*, *Maſter George Hay*, and *Maſter John Row*, *three* Epiſcopalians, were appointed to confer and reaſon upon the Queſtion proponed with *Mr. Andrew Melvil*, *Mr. James Lawſon*, and *Mr. John Craig*; *two* Presbyterians, and *one*, much indifferent for both ſides. *After diverſe Meetings, and long Diſceptation* ſaith *Spotſwood*, (*h*) *after two days*, ſaith *Petrie*, (*i*) they preſented theſe Concluſions to the Aſſembly, which, at that time, they had agreed upon.

(*h*) Spot. 275.

(*i*) Pet. 386.

1. *They think it not expedient, preſently, to anſwer, directly, to the Firſt Queſtion. But if any Biſhop ſhall be choſen, who hath not ſuch Qualities as the word of God requires, let him be tryed by the General Aſſembly* De Novo, *and ſo depoſed.*

2. *The Name Biſhop is common to all them who have particular Flocks, over which they have particular Charges, to preach the Word, adminiſter the Sacraments*, &c.

3. *Out*

3. *Out of this Number may be choſen ſome to have power to Overſee and Viſit ſuch reaſonable Bounds, beſide his own Flock, as the General Kirk ſhall appoint; and, in theſe bounds, to appoint Miniſters, with Conſent of the Miniſters of that Province, and of the Flock to whom they ſhall be appointed. Alſo, to appoint Elders and Deacons in every principal Congregation, where there are none, with Conſent of the People thereof; and to ſuſpend Miniſters, for reaſonable Cauſes, with Conſent of the Miniſters aforeſaid.* So the *Mſs. Spot. Pet. Cald.* (k)

(k) Spot. 275. Pet. 386. Cald. 69.

'Tis true, here are ſome things, which, perhaps, when thoroughly examined, will not be found ſo exactly agreeable to the Sentiments and Practice of the Primitive Church. However, 'tis evident, for this *Bout*, the *Imparity-men* carried the day; and it ſeems the *Parity-men* have not yet been ſo well fixed for the *Divine* and *indiſpenſible Right* of it, as our *Modern Parity-men* would think needful; otherwiſe, how came they to conſent to ſuch Concluſions? How came they to yield that it was not expedient, at that time, to anſwer directly to the firſt Queſtion, which was concerning the Lawfulneſs of Epiſcopacy? Were they of the Modern Principles, *G. R*'s Principles? Did they think that *Divine inſtitutions* might be *diſpenſed* with, *croſſed*, according to the *Exigencies* of *Expediency* or *Inexpediency*? What ane Honour is it to the *Party* if their firſt *Hero's* were ſuch *Caſuiſts*? Beſides, is not the Lawfulneſs of *imparity* clearly imported

ported in the *Third Concluſion*? Indeed both *Calderwood* and *Petrie* acknowledge ſo much.

Calderwood (*l*) ſaith, *It ſeemeth that by Reaſon of the Regents Authority, who was bent upon the Courſe* (*i. e.* Epiſcopacy) *whereof he was the chief Inſtrument, that they anſwered not directly, at this time, to the Queſtion.* Here, you ſee, he owns that nothing, at this time was concluded againſt the *Courſe*, as he calls it; whither he had reaſon, to ſay, *It ſeemed* to be upon ſuch ane account, ſhall be conſidered afterward. (*l*) Cal. 69.

Petrie (*m*) acknowledges it too; but in ſuch a *paſſion*, it ſeems, as quite maſtered his *Prudence*, when he did it; for theſe are his words. *Howbeit in theſe Concluſions they expreſs not the Negative, becauſe they would not plainly oppoſe the particular intereſt of the Council, ſeeking ſecurity of the Poſſeſſions, by the Title of Biſhops; yet theſe Affirmatives take away the pretended Office.* Now let the world conſider the *Wiſdom* of this Author in advancing this *fine period*. They did not expreſs the Negative, (they did not condemn Epiſcopacy) becauſe they would not plainly oppoſe the particular intereſt of the Council, ſeeking Security of the Poſſeſſions, *&c.* Now let us enquire who were theſe, *They*, who would not, for this reaſon condemn Epiſcopacy, at that time? It muſt either belong to the *Six Collocutors* who drew the Concuſions, or to the *whole Aſſembly*: If to the *Collocutors*, 'tis plain, *Three* of them, *viz. Row*, *Hay*, and *Lindeſay* were (*m*) Pet. 387.

were innocent; they were perſwaded in their Minds of the *Expediency* (to ſay no further) as well as the *Lawfulneſs* of Epiſcopacy, and I think that was reaſon enough for them not to *condemn* it. The *Presbyterian Brethren*, then, if any, were the perſons who were moved not to condemn it, *becauſe they would not plainly oppoſe the particular intereſt of the Council*, &c. But if ſo, hath not Maſter *Petrie* made them very *brave fellows*? Hath he not fairly made them ſuch friends to *Sacrilege*, that they would rather *baulk* a *divine Inſtitution*, than interrupt its *Courſe*, and offend its *Votaries*? If by the word, *They*, he meant the General Aſſembly; if the whole Aſſembly were *they*, who would not expreſs the *Negative*, *becauſe they would not oppoſe*, &c. I think, Mr. *Petrie*, were he alive, would have enough to do, to prove that that was the Reaſon they were determin'd by. What? Had the whole Church quate all their pretenſions, they inſiſted on ſo much, on every Occaſion? Had they now given over their *Claim* to the *Revenues* of the *Church*? Shall I declare my poor opinion in this matter? I am apt to believe that it was one of the great Arguments inſiſted on by the Three Epiſcopalian Collocutors, at that time, "That if "Epiſcopacy ſhould be concluded unlawful, "and, by conſequence, overturned, the "Patrimony of the Church would undoubt-"edly go to wreck; The hungry Courtiers "would preſently poſſeſs themſelves of the

"Revenues

" Revenues belonging to the Biſhops?.

Sure I am, as things then ſtood, there was all the Reaſon in the world for inſiſting on this Argument: But to paſs this. *Petrie* it ſeems was not content with giving the *quite contrary* of that, which in all probability, was the true Reaſon, at leaſt one of the true Reaſons, for not overturning Epiſcopary at that time; But he behoved to add ſomething more Extravagant: He behoved to add *That the Affirmatives* in the aforeſaid concluſions *took away the pretended Office* of Epiſcopacy. What might he not have ſaid, after this? It ſeems, that in this Authors opinion, all is one thing, to aſſert the Lawfulneſs of ane Office, and thereupon to *continue it*, and to *take it away*. But perhaps I may be blamed for taking ſo much notice of ane angry mans Exceſſes, For no doubt it was anger that ſuch concluſions ſhould have been made, that hurried him upon ſuch Extravagances; and therefore I ſhall leave him, and return to my threed.

By what I have told, it may be eaſy to judge, how cold the firſt Entertainment was, which Parity got when it was propoſed to the General Aſſembly: and ſo much the more, if it be further conſidered that, by this ſame Aſſembly, ſome 8 or 9 Articles were ordered to be preſented to *My Lord Regents Grace*, whereof the *Firſt* (as I find it in the *MS.* and in *Petrie* himſelf (*n*) tho' neither ſo fully nor ſo fairly) was this.

(*n*) Pet. 385.

Imprimis, for planting and preaching the word, thro' the whole Realm, It is Deſired, that ſo many Miniſters as may be had, who are yet unplaced, may be received, as well in the Countrey, to relieve the charge of them who have many Kirks, as otherwiſe, throughout the whole Realm, with Superintendents or Commiſſioners within theſe Bonnds where Biſhops are not, and to help ſuch Biſhops as have too great Charges: And that Livings be appointed to the aforeſaid Perſons: and alſo payment to them who have travelled before, as Commiſſioners, in the years of God 1573. *and* 1574. *and ſo forth, in time coming, without which, the travels of ſuch Men will ceaſe.*

This I ſay is the Firſt of many Articles ordered by this Aſſembly for the Regent; From which it is Evident, not only, that Mr. *Melvils* Project made little, or no progreſs, at this time, but alſo that the Aſſembly continued firm and ſtedfaſt in the ſame very intentions, and of the ſame very Principles, which had prevailed in former Aſſemblies, *viz.* to ſtop the uniting of Churches; to multiply the number of perſons cloathed with *Prelatick* power; To continue that *power* in the Church; and by all means to ſecure her Patrimony and guard againſt, and Exclude all alienations of it.

Melvil and his *Partiſans*, thus ſucceſsleſs in their firſt attempt, but withal, once engaged and reſolved not to give over, began, it ſeems, againſt the next Aſſembly to reflect on what they had done, and perceive that they had miſtaken their meaſures:

ſures: And indeed it was a little precipitantly done, at the very firſt, to ſtate the Queſtion ſimply and abſolutely upon the *Lawfulneſs* or *Unlawfulneſs* of *Epiſcopacy*, in the General, as they had ſtated it. It was a new Queſtion which had never been ſtated in the Church of *Scotland* before: And it could not but be *ſurprizing* to the greateſt part of the Aſſembly. Thus to call in Queſtion the *Lawfulneſs* of ane *Offfce* which had been ſo *early*, ſo *univerſally*, ſo *uſefully*, ſo *inconteſtedly*, received by the *Catholick Church*. This was a point of great importance: For, to Declare that Office *Unlawful*, what was it elſe than to condemn all theſe Churches, in the primitive times, which had own'd it and flouriſh't under it? What elſe than to condemn the *Scottiſh Reformation* and *Reformers*, who had never Queſtion'd it, but, on the contrary, had proceeded all, alongſt, on principles which, clearly ſuppoſed its *Lawfulneſs*, if not its *Neceſſity*? Nay, was it not to condemn, particularly, all theſe General Aſſemblies which, immediately before, had ſo much Authorized and confirm'd it? Beſides, as hath been already obſerved; to Declare Epiſcopacy *Unlawful* was, unavoidably, to ſtifle all theſe projects, they had been ſo induſtriouſly forming for recovering the Churches Patrimony: And not only ſo, but to expoſe it more and more to be devoured by the voracious Laity. It was plain, it could no ſooner be declared *Un-*

lawful, than it behoved to be parted with; and *turn out the Biſhops, once, and what would become of the Biſhopricks?* Nay, to turn them out, what was it elſe, than, to undo the whole *Agreement* at *Leith*, which was the greateſt ſecurity, the Church, then, had for her Patrimony? For theſe and the like reaſons, I ſay, laying aſide the *impiety*, and inſiſting only on the *imprudence* of the *Melvilian Project*, it was, no doubt, precipitantly done, at the very firſt, to make that the *State* of the *Queſtion:* And it was no wonder if the *Aſſembly* was unanimous in agreeing to the concluſions which had been laid before them by the *ſix Collocutors:* Nay, it was no wonder if *Melvil* and his Party, ſenſible of their errour, and willing to cover it, the beſt way they could, yielded, for that time, to the other *Three*, who had, ſo viſibly, the advantage of them, at leaſt, in the point of the Churches *intereſt:* And therefore,

At the next Aſſembly, which was holden at *Edenburgh*, *April* 24. 1576. they altered the *State* of the *Queſtion*, as *Spotſwood* obſerves,(o) and made it this, *Whether Biſhops, as they were then in Scotland, had their Function warranted by the word of God?* But even thus ſtated, at that time, it avail'd them nothing: For, (as it is in the *MS.*) *The whole Aſſembly, for the moſt part, after Reaſoning and long Diſputation upon every Article of the Brethrens* (viz. the ſix Collocutors) *opinion and advice, reſolutely approved and affirmed the ſame, and*

(o) Spot. 276

and every Article thereof, as the ſame was given in by them. And then the Articles are Repeated.

Calderwood and *Petrie* do both ſhuffle over the ſtate of the Queſtion, (*p*) but, upon the matter, they give the ſame account of the Aſſembly's Reſolution: However, I thought fit to take it in the words of the *MS.* the very *ſtile* importing that they are the *moſt Authentick*. And in this Reſolution we may obſerve theſe three things.

(*p*) Cald. 72. Pet. 387.

1. That whatever the *Melvilian Party* might then be, They were but the *ſmaller* Party: *The whole Aſſembly for the moſt part*, that is, as I take it, the far greater part of the Aſſembly was againſt them.

2. That *the whole Aſſembly for the moſt part* ſeem to have been ſeriouſly perſwaded they were in the right, and did not *approve and affirm* theſe Articles either *indeliberately* or *faintly*; For it was after *Reaſoning and long Diſputation*, that they *approved* and *affirmed* them, and they were ſufficiently *Keen* in the matter, for they did it *Reſolutely*.

3. The *Melvilian Party* were *over-voted*, even as the *Queſtion* was, then, *Stated*: *The whole Aſſembly for the moſt part*, ſtood for Epiſcopacy as it was then eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*, and would not declare it Unlawful. From all which, I leave to the world to judge, if *Presbyterian parity* did not meet with oppoſition, with very great oppoſition, at its firſt appearances in *Scotland*: Neither was this all.

As this General Aſſembly did thus ſtand its ground, and appeared for *Imparity*, ſo it continued of the ſame ſentiments and Reſolutions with former Aſſemblies, in the Matter of the Churches *Patrimony*; For, By it, it was reſolved alſo, *That they might proceed againſt unjuſt poſſeſſors of the Patrimony of the Church, in reſpect of the Notorious Scandal, not only by Doctrine and Admonition, but with the Cenſures of the Church, and that the Patrimony of the Church, whereupon the Church, the Poor and the Schools ſhould be maintained, was* ex jure divino. So 'tis in the MS. and ſo *Petrie* hath it: (s) Well! Did the *Parity-men* gain no ground in this Aſſembly? Yes, they did: Two things they obtained, which were very uſeful for them afterwards. They obtained

(s) Pet. 387.

1. And Act to be made *That the Biſhops ſhould be obliged to take the charge of particular Congregations.* 'Tis true, the Aſſembly could not get this refuſed after they had approved and affirmed the above-mentioned Articles. For, it was fairly deduceable both from the ſecond and third: But then, it is plain, this Act did militate nothing againſt the *Eſſentials* of Epiſcopacy: It was highly conſiſtent with *Imparity* amongſt the Governours of the Church: and the Articles evidently import as much: However, as I ſaid, this proved very ſerviceable to the *Melvilian Party*, afterwards, as we ſhall hear. But this was not the worſt of it: For

2. The

2. The *Earl* of *Morton*, then, *Regent* (whatever the Presbyterian Hiſtorians talk of his being ſo much for Epiſcopacy) made a very ill-favoured, as well as a very fatal ſtep in the time of this Aſſembly: Take it in *Spotſwoods* words, (*t*) *The Regent hearing how the Church had proceeded, and taking ill the Depoſition of Maſter* James Patton *Biſhop of* Dunkeld, *who was, in the former Aſſembly, deprived for Dilapidation of his benefice, ſent to require of them* (this Aſſembly met in April 1576) *whether they would ſtand to the Policy agreed unto at* Leith? *And if not, to deſire them to ſettle upon ſome form of Government at which they would abide.* (*t*) Spot. 276.

The *Champions* for *Parity* had fairly met with a ſecond repulſe from this Aſſembly, as I have diſcourſed, and if all concerned had acted their parts, as they might and ought to have done, and as the cauſe required, 'tis highly credible, that *Mother of confuſion* might have been quit cruſh't and ſtifled for ever: But that was not done; The *Prelates* themſelves were negligent and unactive, as *Spotſwood* intimates, (*u*) and here, the Regent made this propoſition. A propoſition, than which, none could be made more ſurprizingly obliging and acceptable to the Presbyterian Party. All things conſidered, it was the very thing, the common principles of conduct might have taught them to have askt, *next*, if they had had things for the *asking*; For what can fall out more luckily for thoſe who have a mind to (*u*) Spot. 276.

innovate, than to have the *old* foundations *ſhaken*, and *leave* allowed to erect *new Models*? So ill-favoured (I ſay) was this ſtep, which, at this time, was made by *Morton*, who, by the *exigencies* of his *ſtation*, was bound to have guarded againſt all innovations, eſpecially ſuch as had ſo natural a tendency to diſturb the publick peace; and therefore I muſt ask my Readers allowance to make a little digreſſion, if it may be called a digreſſion, and diſcourſe this Queſtion,

Whether it may not be thought probable that *Morton* made this propoſition *Deliberately*, and from ane *Intention* to *Cheriſh* the *Presbyterian Party*, and encourage their *humor* for innovating, and confounding the *Peace* of the *Church*?

This, perhaps, at firſt ſight, may ſeem a bold Queſtion, as not only being *New*, but apparently *Croſſing* the received accounts of our Presbyterian Hiſtorians; But if I can make the affirmative very probable (if not evident) I am apt to think, it may bring no ſmall acceſſions of light to the preſent ſubject I am inſiſting on, *viz.* how Presbyterianiſm was firſt introduced into *Scotland*? I will therefore lay down my Reaſons for it, that the world may judge of them; and

1. That which I have already deſcourſed, ſeems to be a very fair Argument that *Morton* made this propoſition, *intentionally*, to give *ſcope* and *ſlackened Reins* to the Presbyterian Party; For if he had not made it;

if

if he had reſolved to ſtand by the *Agreement* at *Leith*; if he had been ſerious for the Eſtabliſhed Government and Peace of the Church; It had been eaſy for him to have ſuppreſt all *Melvil*'s *Projects* for innovation. He had viſibly, the major part of this Aſſembly, of his ſide, if that had been his *Aim*; No appearance that the Body of the People was then infected with the principles of *Parity*. The Nobility were generally for the old conſtitution, as is evident from no leſs Authority than *Melvil*'s own, in his Letter to *Beza* cited before, in which he tells him, He and his Party *had many of the Peers againſt them*; (*v*) where then, was there the leaſt difficulty of *Cruſhing* the *Coccatrice* in the *Egg*, if he had had a mind for it? Beſides, how inconſiſtent was the making of this propoſition with the *Integrity* and *Honeſty* of a *Regent*? The *King* was, then, a *Minor*; The Nation had but juſt, then, emerged out of a vaſt Ocean of civil broyls and troubles, which had long haraſſed it, and kept it in confuſion; nothing more improper for it than to be involved again, inſtantly, in jarrs and diſcords; So that if he had no ſuch *Plot*, as I am endeavouring to make probable he had, he was, certainly, very unfortunate in granting ſuch a *Liberty*; For, conſidering all things, it looks ſo very like a *Plot*, that it cannot but be very hard to perſwade a thinking man that there was none. Eſpecially if it be conſidered

(*v*) Pet. 401.

2. That

2. That he was a Man, who had *latitude* enough, to do ill things, if he thought them ſubſervient to his *intereſt*. He was wretchedly *Covetous*, as all Hiſtorians agree: And that vice alone diſpoſes a Man for the worſt things. He hath obſerved little of the affairs of the world, and the extravagances of Mankind, who has not obſerved *Avarice* and a ſordid temper to have put Men on the moſt abominable courſes: who hath not obſerved, who hath not *ſeen*, that Men have ſold Religion, Honour, Conſcience, Loyalty, Faith, Friendſhip, every thing that's ſacred, for Money? Now by making this propoſition, He projected a very fair opportunity for gratifying this his predomining appetite. He had ſo anxiouſly coveted the Emoluments of the *Arch-Biſhoprick* of *St. Andrews* in the year 1571 (as *Sir James Melvil* tells us in his *Memoirs*.(w) that meeting with a repulſe, he forſook the Court, and was ſo much diſcontented, that he would not return to it, till *Randolf* the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour perſwaded *Lennox*, then Regent, to give it to him; Promiſing that the *Queen* of *England* ſhould recompence it to him with greater advantage. How much of that *Biſhoprick* he had continued ſtill to poſſeſs, after the *Agreement* at *Leith*, and *Douglaſs's* advancement to that *Arch-Biſhoprick*, I cannot tell; But it is not to be doubted, whatever it was, it ſharpened his ſtomack for more of the Churches Revenues; and now, the iuncture made

(w) Mel. Mem. 110.

made wonderfully for him; For, as he had found by experience, and many Acts of Aſſemblies, &c. That the Church, careful of her intereſts, and watchful over her Patrimony, was no ways inclined to ſit ſtill and ſuffer her ſelf to be cheated, and plundered, according to his hungry inclinations; but was making, and like to continue to make vigorous oppoſition to all ſuch ſacrilegious purpoſes, ſo long as ſhe continued united, and ſettled on the foot on which ſhe then ſtood: So he found, that, now, Contention was ariſing within her own Bowels, and a Party was appearing zealous for innovations, and her peace and unanimity were like to be broken and divided; and what more proper for him, in theſe circumſtances, than to lay the reins on their necks, and caſt a further *bone of Contention* amongſt them? He knew full well what it was *to fiſh in troubled waters*, as *Sir James Melvil* obſerves of him, (*x*) and ſo 'tis more than probable he would not neglect ſuch ane opportunity, ſtill ſo much the more, if it be conſidered,

(x) Mel. Mem. ibid.

3. That whatever profeſſions he might have made, in former times, of good affection to Epiſcopal Government, yet there is little reaſon to think that his Conſcience was intereſted in the matter; For beſides that covetous, ſelfiſh, ſubtle men, ſuch as he was, uſe not to allow themſelves to ſtand too preciſely upon all the Dictates of a *Nice* and tender Conſcience; The *Divine Right*

Right of Epiſcopacy, (the true *fund* for making it matter of Conſcience) in theſe times was not much aſſerted or thought on: That was not, till ſeveral years afterwards, when the Controverſies about the Government of the Church came to be ſifted more narrowly: It is commonly acknowledged that the main Argument which prevailed with *him* to appear for Epiſcopacy, was its aptitude for being part of a *fund* for a *good Correſpondence* with *England*. *Spotſwood* tells us, (*y*) that one of the Injunctions which he got when he was made Regent, was, *That he ſhould be careful to entertain the Amity contracted with the Queen of England.* And *Calderwood* ſaith thus expreſsly of him, (*z*) *His great intention was to bring in conformity with England, in the Church Government, without which, he thought, he could not Govern the Countrey to his Fantaſie, or, that, Agreement could ſtand long between the two Countreys.* And again, (*a*) *He preſſed his own injunctions and Conformity with England.* Now this being the great motive that made him ſo much inclined, at any time, for Epiſcopal Government; It is to be conſidered,

(*y*) Spot. 276.

(*z*) Cald. 66.

(*a*) Cald. 80.

4. That, however prevalent this might be with him, when, firſt, he was advanced to the Regency, civil Diſſentions raging then, and the Party, of which he was the Head, being unable to ſubſiſt, unleſs ſupported by *England*; Yet now, that all theſe Diſſentions were ended, and the Countrey quieted, and things brought to ſome appearance

rance of a durable ſettlement; His Depen-dance on *England* might prompt him to alter his *ſcheme*, and incline him to give ſcope to the Presbyterian *wild-fire* in *Scotland*. To ſet this preſumption in its due light, Two things are to be a little further enquired into.

1. If it is probable that Queen *Elizabeth* was willing that the *Presbyterian humor* ſhould be *Encouraged* in *Scotland?*

2. If *Morton* depended ſo much on her, as to make it feaſible that he might be ſubſer-vient to her Deſigns, in this Politick? As for the

Firſt, this is certain, it was ſtill one of Queen *Elizabeth*'s great cares to Encourage confuſions in *Scotland*. She knew her own *Title* was *Queſtionable*, as I have obſerved before; and tho' that had not been, yet, without Queſtion the *Scottiſh blood* had the next *beſt* Title to the *Engliſh Crown:* and as 'tis Natural to moſt People to worſhip the riſing Sun, eſpecially when he looks Bright and Glorious; when he has no Clouds about him; I mean, the *Apparent Heir* of a Throne, when he is in a proſperous and flouriſhing condition; So, 'tis as Natural for the *Regnant Prince* to be *jealous* of him. Therefore, I ſay Queen *Elizabeth*, for her own ſecurity, did ſtill what ſhe could to *Kindle* wildfire in *Scotland*, and *keep* it *burning*, when it was *Kindled*. Thus, in the year 1560. She aſſiſted the *Scottiſh* ſubjects againſt their *Native Soveraign* (her jealouſed Com-petitrix)

petitrix) both with Men and Money, as I have told before: And *Anno* 1565. She countenanced the *Scottish* Lords who began to raise tumults about the *Scottish* Queens Marriage with the Lord *Darnley*; She furnisht them with money, and harbour'd them when they were forced to flee for it. And how long did She foment our *Civil wars* after they brake out *Anno* 1567? What dubious Responses did She give, all the time She *Umpir'd* it, between the *Queen* of *Scotland* and those who appeared for *her Son*? And is it not very well known that She had ane hand in the *Road* of *Ruthven* 1582, and in all our *Scottish seditions*, Generally? *Sir James Melvil* in his *Memoirs* gives us enough of her Practices that way: He lived in these times, and was acquainted with intrigues; and he tells us, (*b*) "That *Randolf* came with *Lennox* "(when he came to *Scotland*, to be *Regent*, "after *Murray*'s death) to stay here as *English* "*Resident*: That this *Randolf*'s great imploy- "ment was to foster discords, and increase "Divisions among the *Scots*, particularly, "*That he used Craft with the Ministers*, (*c*) "*offering Gold to such of them as he thought could* "*be prevail'd with to accept his offer*: 'Tis true "he adds, *But such as were honest refused* "*his gifts*: But this says not that none took "them; and who knows but the most *Fiery* "might have been *foremost* at receiving? It "hath been so, since; Even when it was "the *Price* of the *best blood* in *Britain*. But "to go on; *Sir James* tells further (*d*) that "*Morton*

(*b*) Mel. Mem. 135.

(*c*) Ibid. 109.

(*d*) Ibid. 113.

" *Morton* and *Randolf* contrived the Plot of " keeping the Parliament at *Stirling* 1571. to " forefault all the Queens Lords, thereby " to *Cruſh all hopes of Agreement*: That he " was ſo much hated in *Scotland* for being " ſuch ane *Incendiary*, that he was forced to " return to *England*; Mr. *Henry Kellegrew* ſuc- " ceeding in his ſtead, in *Scotland*; (*e*) that (*e*) Ibid. " this *Killegrew*, at a private meeting told 115. " himſelf plainly, (*f*) that he was come to (*f*) Ibid. " *Scotland* with a Commiſſion, contrary to 116. " his inclinations, which was to encourage " *Faction*, &c. Thus practiced Queen *Elizabeth*, and ſuch were her Arts and influences in *Scotland*, before ſhe had the opportunity of *improving* the Presbyterian humour to her purpoſes: And can it be imagined ſhe would not encourage it when once it got footing? Certainly ſhe underſtood it, better than ſo: The *Sect* had ſet up a *Presbytery* at *Wandſworth* in *Surrey* in the year 1572, four years before *Morton* made this *Propoſition*, ſeven years before a *Presbytery* was ſo much as heard of in *Scotland*; No doubt ſhe knew the *Spirit* well enough, and how apt and well ſuited, it was for keeping a *State* in diſorder and trouble. Nay, I have heard from knowing Perſons, that, to this very day, the Treaſury Books of *England* (if I remember right, ſure I am, ſome *Engliſh* record or other) bear the Names of ſuch *Scottiſh Noblemen* and *Miniſters*, as were that Queens *Penſioners*; and what allowances they got for their Services, in foſtering and cheriſhing

riſhing ſeditions and confuſions in their Native Countrey; From this ſample, I think, it is eaſy to collect at leaſt, that it is highly probable that Queen *Elizabeth* was very willing that the Presbyterian humour ſhould be encouraged in *Scotland*. Let us try

2. If *Morton* depended ſo much on *her*, as may make it credible that he was ſubſervient to her Deſigns in this Politick? And here the work is eaſy; For he was her very *Creature*: he ſtood *by* her, and he ſtood *for* her. *Randolf* and *he* were ſtill in *one* bottom, (*g*) *The whole Countrey was abuſed by Randolf and Morton. Morton and Randolf contrived the Parliament* 1571. Mentioned before. When *Lennox* the Regent was killed, *Randolf was earneſt to have Morton ſucceed him*, (*h*) *Randolf had no Credit but with Morton*, (*i*) Killegrew *told Sir* James Melvil *at the Private Meeting*, mentioned before, (*k*) *That the Queen of England and her Council built their courſe, neither on the late Regent Lennox, nor the preſent Mar, but intirely on the Earl of Morton, as only true to their intereſts. Morton* after *Mar*'s death *was made Regent, England helping it with all their Might.* (*l*) And again in that ſame page, Sir *James* tells that thoſe who were in the Caſtle of *Edenburgh*, and ſtood for Queen *Mary*'s Title, were ſo ſenſible of all this, that when *Morton* ſent the ſame Sir *James* to propoſe ane accommodation to them, He found it very hard to bring on ane Agreement between them and *Morton*, *for the evil opinion that was then conceived of him, and the hurtful*

(*g*) Ibid. 110.

(*h*) Ibid. 115.

(*i*) Ibid.

(*k*) p. 116.

(*l*) Ibid. 118.

hurtful marks they ſuppoſed, by proofs and appearances, that he would ſhoot at, being by Nature Covetous, and too great with England. And to make all this plainer, yet, *Sir James* tells us that *Morton* entertaind a Secret Grudge againſt his *Pupil*, the *Young King*. *He was ever jealous that the King would be his Ruine.* (m) And, England *gave greater Aſſiſtances to* Morton, *than to any former Regents, for they believed he aim'd at the ſame mark, with themſelves*, viz. to intricate the Kings affairs, *out of old jealouſies between the Stuarts and the Douglaſes.* (n) Now,

(m) M. Mem. 118

(n) Ibid. 123.

Let all theſe things be laid together, and then let the *judicious* conſider if it is not more than probable, That as *England* had a main hand in the advancement of our Reformation, ſo it was not wanting to contribute for the encouragement of *Presbytery* alſo; and that *Morton* playing *England*'s game, which was ſo much interwoven with his own, made this *ill favoured Propoſition* to this Gen. Aſſ. But however this was, whether he had ſuch a *Plot* or not; It is clear that his making this propoſition, had all the effects he could have projected by being on ſuch a *Plot*. For

No ſooner had he made this Propoſition than it was greedily entertain'd; It Anſwered the *Melvilian* wiſhes; and it was eaſy for them to find colourable Topicks for obtaining the conſent of the reſt of the Aſſembly; For moſt part of them were ready to acknowledge that there were Defects, and things to be mended in the *Agreement*

at *Leith*: And it had been received by the General Aſſembly in *Auguſt* 1572. for ane *Interim* only: The reviſing of that *Agreement*, might end ſome Controverſies; and the Regent having made this Propoſition, it was not to be doubted, but he would Ratify what they ſhould Unanimouſly agree to, *&c.* Theſe and the like Arguments, I ſay, might, ('tis clear, ſome Arguments did) prevail with the Aſſembly to entertain the Propoſition: For

A commiſſion was forthwith drawn to nineteen or twenty Perſons, to Compoſe a *Second Book of Diſcipline*; (*o*) a ſtep by which at that time the Presbyterian got a wonderful advantage over the other Party; For not only were *Melvil* and *Lawſon* the two firſt Rate Presbyterians nominated amongſt theſe Commiſſioners; But they had their buſineſs much premeditated; They had ſpent much thinking about it; and it is not to be doubted, they had Mr. *Beza* beſpoken to provide them with all the Aſſiſtance, he and his Colleagues, at *Geneva*, could afford them: Whereas the reſt were Generally very ignorant in Controverſies of that Nature: They had all alongſt, before that, imployed themſelves mainly in the *Popiſh* Controverſies; and had not troubled their heads much about the *Niceties* of *Government*; They had taken the *Ancient* Government, ſo far, at leaſt, as it ſubſiſted by imparity, upon truſt, as they found, it had been Practiced in all ages of the Church; perceiving

(*o*) MS. Cald. 73. Pet. 387.

ving a great deal of Order and Beauty in it; and nothing that naturally tended to have a bad influence, on either the principles or the life of ſerious Chriſtianity: And with that they were ſatisfied: Indeed even the beſt of them ſeem to have had very little skill in the true fountains whence the ſolid ſubſiſtence of the *Epiſcopal Order* was to be derived; The Scriptures I mean, not as *Gloſſed* by the *Private Spirit* of every *Modern Noveliſt*, but as interpreted and underſtood by the *Firſt* ages; as *ſenſed* by the conſtant and univerſal practice, of Genuine, Primitive and Catholick Antiquity.

This charge of Ignorance, in the Controverſies about the Government of the Church, which I have brought againſt the *Scottiſh* Clergy, in theſe times, will certainly leave a blot upon my ſelf, if I cannot prove it: But if I can prove it, it is clear, it is of conſiderable importance in the preſent diſquiſition, and helps much for coming, by a juſt comprehenſion, to underſtand how *Presbytery* was introduced into *Scotland*. And therefore I muſt again beg my Readers patience, till I adduce ſome evidences for it. And

Firſt, The truth of this charge may be obviouſly collected from the whole train of their proceedings, and management, about the Government of the Church, from the very firſt Eſtabliſhment of the Reformation: For however they Eſtabliſhed a Government which clearly ſubſiſted by *imparity*, as

I have fully proven, and which was all I ſtill aim'd at, yet, it is eaſy to Diſcover they were very far from keeping *Cloſely* by the Principles and Meaſures of the primitive conſtitution of Church-Government. This is ſo very apparent to any who Reads the Hiſtories of theſe times, and is ſo viſible in the Deduction I have made, that I ſhall inſiſt no longer on it.

Secondly, The truth of my charge may further appear, from the Inſtance of *Adamſon*, advanced, this year 1576, to the *Archbiſhoprick* of *St. Andrews*. That Nature had furniſhed him with a good ſtock, and he was a ſmart Man, and cultivated beyond the ordinary *Size*, by many parts of good Literature, is not denyed by the Presbyterian Hiſtorians themſelves; They never attempt to repreſent him as a *Fool* or a *Dunce*, tho' they are very eager to have him a Man of *Tricks* and *Latitude*. Now this *Prelates* ignorance in true Antiquity is Remarkably viſible in his ſubſcribing to theſe Propoſitions (*Anno* 1580, if we may believe *Calder-*

(*o*) Cald. 93. 94. "*wood*, (*p*) *The Power and Authority of all Paſtors* "*is equal, and alike great, amongſt themſelves.* "*The Name, Biſhop, is Relative to the Flock,* "*and not to the Elderſhip; For he is Biſhop of his* "*Flock, and not of other Paſtors, or fellow Elders;* "*As for the Preheminence that one beareth over* "*the reſt, it is the Invention of Man, and not the* "*Inſtitution of Holy Writ. That the ordaining and appointing of Paſtors which is alſo called the laying on of hands, appertaineth not to one Biſhop only,*

only, ſo being, Lawful Election paſs before; but to thoſe of the ſame Province or Presbytery, and with the like Juriſdiction and Authority, Miniſter at their Kirks. That in the Council of Nice *for eſchewing of private ordaining of Miniſters, it was ſtatuted, that no Paſtor ſhould be appointed without the conſent of him, who dwelt or remained in the Chief and Principal City of the Province, which they called the Metropolitan City. That after, in the latter Councils, it was ſtatuted, (that things might proceed more ſolemnly and withgreater Authority) that the laying on of hands upon Paſtors, after Lawful Election, ſhould be by the Metropolitan, or Biſhop of the Chief and principal Town, the reſt of the Biſhops of the Province voting thereto; In which thing, there was no other Prerogative, but only that of the Town, which, for that cauſe, was thought moſt meet both for the conveening of the Council, and Ordaining of Paſtors with common Conſent and Authority. That the Eſtate of the Church was corrupt, when the name, Biſhop, which before, was common to the reſt of the Paſtors of the Province, began, without the Authority of Gods Word and ancient Cuſtome of the Kirk to be attributed to one. That the power of appointing and ordaining Miniſters, and Ruling of Kirks with the whole procuration of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, was, now, only, devolved to one Metropolitan; The other Paſtors no ways challenging their Right and Privilege therein, of very ſlothfulneſs, on the one part; And the Devil, on the other, going about, craftily, to lay the ground of the Papiſtical Supremacy.*

From theſe and ſuch other Propoſitions,

ſign'd by him, at that time, it may be judged, I ſay, if this *Prelate* did not bewray a very profound ignorance in true Eccleſiaſtical Antiquity? Ane *Arrant Presbyterian* could not have *ſaid*, could not have *wiſhed* more. Indeed, 'tis more than probable (as perchance may appear by and by) that theſe Propoſitions were taken out, (either formally, or by collection) of Mr. *Beza's* Book *De Triplici Epiſcopatu*. Now if *Adamſon* was ſo little ſeen in ſuch matters, what may we judge of the reſt? But this is not all, For

Thirdly, There cannot be a greater Evidence of the deplorable unskilfulneſs of the Clergy, in theſe times, in the ancient records of the Church, than their ſuffering *Melvil* and his Party to obtrude upon them, *The Second Book of Diſcipline*; A ſplit new Democratical Syſteme; a very *Farce* of Novelties never heard of before in the Chriſtian Church. For inſtance; What elſe is *the confounding of the Offices of Biſhops and Presbyters?* (q) *The making Doctors or Profeſſors of Divinity in Colledges and Univerſities a diſtinct Office*, and, *of Divine Inſtitution?* (r) *The ſetting up of Lay-Elders, as Governours of the Church*, Jure Divino? *Making them Judges of mens Qualifications to be admitted to the Sacrament? Viſiters of the Sick*, &c. (ſ) *Making the Colleges of Presbyters, in Cities, in the primitive times, Lay-Elderſhip?* (t) *Prohibiting Appeals from Scottiſh General Aſſemblies to any Judge Civil or Eccleſiaſtick?* (v) *and by conſequence to Oecumenick Councils.* Are not theſe Ancient and

(q) Cap. 2. §. 9.

(r) Ibid. & Cap. 5. per. tot.

(ſ) Cap. 8. per tot.

(t) Cap. 7. §. 16.

(v) Cap. 12. §. 8.

and Catholick Aſſertions? What footſteps of theſe things in true Antiquity? How eaſy had it been for men skilled in the Conſtitution, Government and Diſcipline of the Primitive Church to have laid open, to the Conviction of all ſober Men, the novelty, the vanity, the inexpediency, the impoliticalneſs, the uncatholicalneſs of moſt; if not all, of theſe Propoſitions? If any further doubt could remain concerning the little skill, the Clergy of *Scotland*, in theſe times, had, in theſe matters, it might be further Demonſtated.

Fourthly, from this plain matter of Fact, *viz.* that that Second Book of Diſcipline, in many points, is taken word for word from Mr. *Beza*'s *Anſwers* to the *Queſtions* propoſed to him, by *The Lord Glamis*, then *Chancellor* of *Scotland*. A fair Evidence that our Clergy, at that time, have not been very well ſeen in Eccleſiaſtical Politicks; Otherwiſe, it is not to be thought they would have been ſo impoſed on, by a ſingle ſtranger Divine, who viſibly aimed at the propagation of the *Scheme*, which by *chance*, had got footing in the Church where he lived. His Tractate *De Triplici Epiſcopatu*, written of purpoſe for the advancement of Presbyterianiſm in *Scotland*, carries viſibly in its whole train, that its deſign was to draw our Clergy from off the *Ancient* Polity of the Church; and his Anſwers to the *Six Queſtions* propoſed to him, (as I ſaid) by *Glamis*, contain'd the *New Scheme*, he adviſed them to. Now,

let us taſte a little of his skill in the Conſtitution and Government of the Ancient Church, or, if you pleaſe, of his accounts of her Policy. I take his *Book* as I find it amongſt *Saravia's* works.

He is Poſitive for the *Divine Right* of *Ruling Elders*. (a) He affirms that *Biſhops arrogated to themſelves, the power of Ordination, without Gods allowance.* (b) *That the Chief foundation of all Eccleſiaſtical Functions, is, Popular Election; That this Election, and not, Ordination, or Impoſition of hands makes Paſtors or Biſhops: That Impoſition of hands does no more, than put them in poſſeſſion of their Miniſtry*, (in the exerciſe of it, as I take it) *the power whereof they have from that Election*; That, by conſequence, *'tis more proper to ſay that the Fathers of the Church are Created by the Holy Ghoſt, and the ſuffrages of their Children, than by the Biſhops.* (c) That Saint Paul *in his firſt Epiſtle to the* Corinthians, *in which he expreſsly writes againſt, and condemns the Schiſm which then prevailed there, as foreſeeing that Epiſcopacy might readily be deem'd a remedy againſt ſo great ane evil, joyn'd* Soſthenes *with himſelf in the Inſcription of the Epiſtle, that by his own example he might teach how much that Princelineſs was to be avoided in Eccleſiaſtical Conventions, ſeeing the Apoſtles themſelves, who are owned to have been, next to Chriſt, firſt, in order, and ſupreme, in degree, did yet Exerciſe their power by the Rules of Parity.* (d) Who will not, at firſt ſight, think this a pretty odd fetch? But to go on, he further affirms, (e) *That Epiſcopacy is ſo far from being*

(a) p. 8.
(b) p. 29.
(c) p. 30.
(d) p. 41.
(e) p. 43.

being a proper remedy againſt Schiſm, that it has produced many Grievous Schiſms, which had never been, but for that Humane Invention. That the Papacy was the fruit of Epiſcopacy. (*f*) *That the Council of* Nice *by making that Canon about the* Ἀρχαῖα ἔθη, *that the Ancient cuſtomes ſhould continue,* &c *cleared the way for the* Roman *Papacy, which was then advancing apace; And founded a Throne for that Whore that ſits upon the ſeven Mountains.* (*g*) *That the Primitive Churches were in a flouriſhing condition ſo long as their Governours continued to Act in Parity; And had not yeilded to Prelacy.* (*h*) And yet he had granted before, (*i*) That *humane Epiſcopacy*, as he calls it, was in *vogue*, in *Ignatius* his time, *&c.* So that I think they could not flouriſh *much*, having ſo ſhort a time to *flouriſh* in.

(*f*) p. 46.
(*g*) p. 58.
(*h*) p. 71.
(*i*) p. 45.

Theſe few, of many ſuch learned Propoſitions, I have collected out of that Book, which was ſo ſucceſsful, at that time, in furthering and advancing the Presbyterian Principles, in *Scotland*; And could they be a learned Clergy? Could they be great Maſters at Antiquity and Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, who ſwallowed down theſe Propoſitions, or were impoſed on, by the *Book* that contain'd them? 'Tis true this Book came not to *Scotland* till the end of the year 1577, or the beginning of 1578. But I thought it pardonable to anticipate ſo far, as, now, to give this account of it, conſidering how proper it was for my preſent purpoſe. We ſhall have occaſion to take further notice of it afterward. Thus,

Thus, I think, I have made it appear how advantageous *Morton*'s Propoſition was to the Presbyterian party: They had occaſion, by it, to fall upon forming a *New Scheme* of Church Government and Polity; They were as well prepared, as they could be for ſuch a nick; and they had a ſet of people to deal with, who might eaſily be worſted in theſe Controverſies. However it ſeems, the common principles of Politicks, which God and Nature have made, if not inſeparable parts, at leaſt, ordinary concomitants of ſound and ſolid reaſon, did ſometimes make their appearances amongſt them; For, that there have been Diſputations and Conteſts, and that ſome, at leaſt, of the many propoſitions, contained in the *Second Book of Diſcipline*, have been debated and toſſed, is evident from the many Conferences, were about it, and the long time was ſpent before it was perfected and got its finiſhing ſtroke from a General Aſſembly, as we ſhall find, in our progreſs. Proceed we now in our deduction.

Tho' the Presbyterian Faction had gain'd this advantage in the Aſſembly 1576, that they had allowance to draw a new Scheme of Polity, to which they could not but apply themſelves very chearfully; yet, it ſeems, they were ſo much humbled by the Repulſes they had got, as to the main Queſtion, *viz.* the *Lawfulneſs of Epiſcopacy*, that they thought it not expedient to try the next Aſſembly with it, directly, as they had

had done, unſucceſsfully, twice before; But to wait a little, till their party ſhould be ſtronger; and, in the mean time to content themſelves with ſuch indirect blows as they could conveniently give it; ſuch, I ſay, their deliberations ſeem to have been, at the next Aſſembly which was holden at *Edenburgh, Octob.* 24. 1576. For not ſo much as one word, in that Aſſembly concerning the *Lawfulneſs* or *Unlawfulneſs* of *Prelacy*, either, *Simply*, and in it ſelf; Or, *Complexely*, as, *then, in uſe in Scotland.* 'Tis true,

Certain Brethren, ſays the *MS. ſome Brethren*, ſays *Calderwood*; *ſome*, ſays *Petrie*, (*k*) (without Queſtion, the *Melvilians*) propoſed that, now, that Mr. *Patrick Adamſon* was nominated for the *Archbiſhoprick* of *St. Andrews*, He might be tryed as to his ſufficiency for ſuch a ſtation, according to ane Act, made in *March* 1575. But it ſeems the *major part* of the Aſſembly have not been for it, for it was not done, as we ſhall find afterward. Nay, another Act was fairly diſpenced with by this Aſſembly, in favour of *Boyd*, *Archbiſhop* of *Glaſgow*: For, being required to give his anſwer, if he would take the *Charge* of a *particular Flock*, according to the *Act* made in *April* before? He Anſwered, *That he had entered to his Biſhoprick according to the* Agreement *at* Leith, *which was to ſtand in force, during the Kings Minority, or till a Parliament ſhould determine otherwiſe: That he had given his Oath to the Kings Majeſty in things appertaining to his Highneſs:*

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(*k*) Cald. 74. Pet. 388.

That he was affraid he might incur the Guilt of Perjury, and be called in queſtion, by the King, for changing a member of ſtate, if he ſhould change any thing belonging to the Order, Manner, Priviledges, or Power of his Biſhoprick: That therefore he could not bind himſelf to a particular Flock, nor prejudge the power of Juriſdiction, which he had received with his Biſhoprick, &c. Thus he anſwered, I ſay, and the Aſſembly, at that time, ſatisfied themſelves, ſo far, with this anſwer, that they preſſed him no further, but referred the matter to the next Aſſembly, as even both *Calderwood* and *Petrie* acknowledge. (*l*) A fair evidence, that in this Aſſembly, the *Preſbyterian* party was the *weaker*. However,

(*l*) Cald. 74. Pet. 389.

One indirect ſtep they gain'd in this Aſſembly alſo. By the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, "*Head* 9. (*m*) It was appointed that the "Country Miniſters and Readers ſhould "meet, upon a certain day of the week in "ſuch Towns, within ſix miles diſtance, "as had Schools, and to which there was "repair of Learned men, to exerciſe themſelves in the Interpretation of Scripture, "in imitation of the practice in uſe among "the *Corinthians*, mentioned 1 *Cor.* 14. "29. Theſe Meetings, it ſeems, had been much neglected and diſfrequented in moſt places. It was therefore enacted by this Aſſembly, *That all Miniſters within eight miles*, &c. *ſhould reſort to the place of exerciſe, each day of exerciſe*, &c. This, (*n*) I ſay, was uſeful for the Presbyterian deſigns;

(*m*) Spot. 170.

(*n*) MS. Cald. 76. Pet. 388.

For

For theſe Meetings were afterwards turn'd into *Presbyteries*, as we ſhall find when we come to the year 1579. And ſo 'tis very like, the motion, for reviving them, was made by *thoſe* of the *Faction*; For no man can deny that they have ſtill had enough of *Draught* in their *Politicks*.

The next Aſſembly was holden *April* 1. *Anno* 1577. No direct progreſs made, now, neither, as to the main Queſtion: And only theſe indirect ones: 1. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* was obliged *to take the charge of a particular Flock*; if we may believe *Calderwood*, (o) but neither the *MS.* nor *Petrie* (o) Cald. 76.
" hath it. 2. The Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews*
" being abſent; full power was given to
" M. *Robert Pont*, M. *James Lawſon*, *David*
" *Ferguſon*, and the Superintendent of *Lo-*
" *thian*, conjunctly; To cite him before
" them, againſt ſuch day or days as they
" ſhould think good; to try and examine
" his entry and proceeding, *&c.* with power
" alſo to ſummon the *Chapter* of *St. Andrews*,
" or ſo many of that *Chapter* as they ſhould
" judge expedient, and the *Ordainers* or
" *Inaugurers* of the ſaid Archbiſhop (obſerve
" here, the Biſhops, in theſe times were
" *Ordained* or *Inaugurated*) as they ſhould
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(o) Cald. 76.

(p) MS. Cald. 76. Pet. 390.

Here, indeed, the *Melvilians* obtain'd in

in both Inſtances, that which was refuſed them by the laſt Aſſembly: However, nothing done *Directly* (as I ſaid) againſt the Epiſcopal Office: On the contrary, *Adamſon*, it ſeems, might *exerce* it, when *admitted* by the Aſſembly.

May I not reckon the *Faſt* appointed by this Aſſembly, as a *third* ſtep gained by our *Parity-men*? *A ſucceſsful Eſtabliſhment of perfect Order and Polity in the Kirk*, was one of the reaſons for it. (*q*) And ever ſince it hath been *one* of the *Politicks* of the *Sect* to be *Mighty* for *Faſts*, when they had extraordinary projects in their heads; and then, if theſe *Projects* (however *wicked*, nay tho' the very *wickedneſs* which the Scripture makes as bad as *witchcraft*) ſucceeded; To entitle them to Gods *Grace*, and make the ſucceſs, the *Comfortable Return* of their pious Humiliations, and ſincere Devotions.

(*q*) MS. Cald. 79. Pet. 391.

I find alſo that Commiſſioners were ſent by this Aſſembly to the *Earl* of *Morton* to acquaint him that they were buſy about the matter and argument of the Polity; and that his Grace ſhould receive Advertiſement of their further proceedings; and that theſe Commiſſioners, having returned from him, to the Aſſembly, reported, That *His Grace liked well of their travels and labours, in that matter*; and *required expedition and haſte*; *Promiſing*, *that when the particulars ſhould be given in to him, they ſhould receive a good Anſwer*. (*r*) So *Calderwood* and the *MS.*

(*r*) Cald. 77.

From

From which, two things may be obſerved: the *Firſt*, is, a further Confirmation of the ſuſpicion I inſiſted on before, *viz.* That *Morton* was truly a Friend to the Innovators. The *ſecond*, that the *Second Book of Diſcipline* had hitherto gone on but very ſlowly: Why elſe would his Grace have ſo earneſtly required *Expedition* and *haſty Outred* (as the *MS.* words it, *i. e. Diſpatch*) and promiſed them a good anſwer when the particulars ſhould be given in to him? The truth is, there was one good reaſon for their proceeding ſo leiſurely in the matter of the *Book*: *Beza*'s *Anſwer* to *Glamis* his Letter was not yet returned.

Thus two General Aſſemblies paſſed, without ſo much as offering at a plain, a direct *Truſt* againſt *Imparity*: Nay, it ſeems matters were not come to a ſufficient Maturity for that, even againſt the next Aſſembly.

It was holden at *Edenburgh*, *Octob.* 25. 1577. And not ſo much as one word in the *MS. Calderwood* or *Petrie*, relating either directly or indirectly to the main Queſtion. But two things happened a little after this Aſſembly, which animated *Melvil* and his *Party* to purpoſe.

One was, *Morton*'s quitting the *Regency*: For, whatever ſervices he had done them, he was ſo *obſcure* and *Fetching* in his meaſures, and ſo little to be truſted, that they could not rely much upon him: And now that he had demitted, they had a fair proſpect

of

of playing their game to better purpoſe than ever: They were in poſſeſſions of the *Allowance* he had granted them to draw a *New Scheme* of Policy; They had a *Young King* who had not yet arrived at the twelfth year of his Age, to deal with; By conſequence they were like to have a *divided* Court and a *Factious* Nobility; and they needed not doubt, if there were *two Factions* in the Kingdom, that *one* of them would be ſure to *Court* them, and undertake to promote their *Intereſts*.

The other encouragement, which did them every whit as good ſervice, was *Beza*'s Book, *De Triplici Epiſcopatu, Divino, Humano, & Satanico*, with his *Anſwers* to the *Lord Glamis* his *Queſtions*, which about this time was brought to *Scotland*: as is clear from *Calderwood*. (*s*) *Beza*, it ſeems, put to it, to Defend the Conſtitution of the Church of *Geneva* had imployed his wit and parts (which certainly were not contemptible) in *patching* together ſuch a *Scheme* of principles, as, he thought, might be defended: That's a method moſt men take too frequently, Firſt, to reſolve upon a *Concluſion*, and then, to ſtretch their inventions and ſpend their pains for finding *Colours* and *plauſibilities* to ſet it off with. *Beza*, therefore, I ſay, having been thus at pains to digeſt his thoughts the beſt way he could on this ſubject; and withal being poſſibly, not a little elevated, That the *Lord High Chancellor* of a *Foreign Kingdom*, ſhould

(*s*) Cald: 79.

ſhould Conſult him, and ask his Advice concerning a point of ſo great importance as the conſtitution of the Government of a National Church; Thought it not enough, it ſeems, to return an Anſwer to his Lordſhips Queſtions, and therein give him a *Scheme*; which was very eaſy for him to do, conſidering, he needed be at little more pains, than to tranſcribe the *Genevian* Eſtabliſhment; But he applied himſelf to the main Controverſie which had been ſtarted by his Diſciple, *Melvil*, in *Scotland*, (and 'tis ſcarcely to be doubted that it was done at his inſtignation) and wrote this his Book, wherein, tho' he aſſerted not the *abſolute Unlawfulneſs* of that which he called *Humane Epiſcopacy* (he had not *brow* enough for that, as we have ſeen already), (*t*) yet he made it wonderouſly dangerous, as being ſo naturally apt to Degenerate into the Deviliſh, the *Satanical* Epiſcopacy. This Book, I ſay, came to *Scotland*, about this time, *viz.* either in the end of 1577. or the beginning of 1578. and (tho' I have already given a *Specimen* of it) who now could hold up his head to plead for *Prelacy*? Here was a *Book* written by the Famous Mr. *Beza*, the *Succeſſor* of the great Mr. *Calvin*; the preſent great *Luminary* of the Church of *Geneva*; our *Elder* Siſter Church; the *Beſt* Reformed Church in Chriſtendom; Who would not be convinced now that Parity ought to be Eſtabliſhed and *Popiſh Prelacy* aboliſhed? And, indeed, it ſeems, this *Book* came, ſeaſonably,

(*t*) In the page of theſe papers.

bly, to help the *good new cauſe* (for it behoved to take ſome time before it could merit the name of the *good old one*) for, we have already ſeen how ſlowly and weakly it advanced before the Book came: But now we ſhall find it gathering ſtrength apace, and advancing with a witneſs. Nay, at the very next Aſſembly it was in a pretty flouriſhing condition.

This next Aſſ. met, *Apr.* 24. *Anno* 1578. And Mr. *Andrew Melvil* was choſen *Moderator*; the *Prince* of the *Sect* had the happineſs to be the *Præſes* of the *Aſſembly*, and preſently the work was ſet a going. Amongſt the firſt things done, in this Aſſ., it was enacted, *That Biſhops and all others bearing Eccleſiaſtical Function, ſhould be called by their own names, or Brethren, in all time coming.* (*u*) No more Lord Biſhops! and it was but conſequential to the great Argument, which was, then, and, ever ſince, hath been in the mouths of all the party, *The Lords of the Gentiles*, &c. *Matt.* 20. 25. *Luke* 22. 25. This was a ſtep worthy of Mr. *Andrew*'s *Humility*, which was not like other mens *Humility*'s, conſiſting in *Humbling* themſelves, but of a new *ſpecies* of its own, conſiſting in *Humbling* of his *Superiours*. Indeed, after this, he ſtill treated his own *Ordinary* the *Archbiſhop* of *Glaſgow*, in publick, according to this *Canon*; Tho' when he was at his *Graces* table, where he got better entertainment than his own *Commons* (for he was, then, in the *College* of *Glaſgow*) he could give him all his *Titles*

(*u*) MS. Cald. 81. Pet. 394.

of

of Dignity and Honour. (*v*) But; (*v*) Spot. 303.

Another more important Act was made, by this Aſſembly; Take it, word for word from *Calderwood* who agrees exactly with both the *MS.* and *Pet.* (*w*) *Foraſmuch as there is great corruption in the State of Biſhops, as they are preſently ſet up, in this Realm, whereunto the Aſſembly would provide ſome ſtay, in time coming, ſo far as they may, to the effect that farther corruption may be bridled; The Aſſembly hath concluded, that no Biſhop ſhall be Elected or Admitted before the next General Aſſembly; Diſcharging all Miniſters and Chapters to proceed, any ways, to the Election of the ſaid Biſhops, in the mean time, under the pain of perpetual Deprivation; And that this matter, be proponed firſt in the next Aſſembly, to be conſulted what farther Order ſhall be taken therein.* (*w*) Cald. 81. Pet. 394.

Here was ground gain'd indeed; However, this was but preparatory ſtill; Nothing, yet, concluded concerning the *Unlawfulneſs* of the Office; It was conſiſtent with this Act that Epiſcopacy ſhould have continued, its corruptions being removed. Neither are we, as yet, told what theſe corruptions were; It ſeems, even the Presbyterians themſelves, tho' in a fair condition, now, to be the prevailing party, had not yet agreed about them. Indeed another Aſſembly muſt be over, before we can come by them. Leaving them, therefore till we come at them; proceed we with this preſent Aſſembly.

Another *Faſt* was appointed by it; The

Nation, it ſeems, was not yet ſufficiently diſpoſed for Presbytery: Rubs and difficulties were ſtill caſt in the way; and the good cauſe was deplorably retarded. So 'tis fairly imported in the Act for this Faſt: *The corruption of all Eſtates: Coldneſs in a great part of the Profeſſors: That God would put it in the Kings heart and the hearts of the Eſtates of Parliament, to Eſtabliſh ſuch a Policy and Diſcipline in the Kirk, as is craved in the word of God*, &c. Theſe are amongſt the prime Reaſons in the narrative of this Act for Faſting.

(x) MS. Pet. 394. Cald. 81. (x) Indeed, all this time the Book of Diſcipline was only in forming; It had not yet got the Aſſemblies Approbation.

The next General Aſſembly met at *Stirling, June* 11. this ſame year, about ſix weeks or ſo, after the Diſſolution of the former: But the Parliament was to ſit; and it was needful the Aſſembly ſhould ſit, before, to order Eccleſiaſtick buſineſs for it. And, now, it ſeems there was little ſtruggling; For the Aſſembly, *all in one voice* (as it is in *MS. Calderwood* and *Petrie*, (y) concluded, *That the Act of the laſt Aſſembly, diſcharging the Election of Biſhops*, &c. *ſhould be extended to all time coming*: And here *Petrie* ſtops; But the *MS.* and *Calderwood* add, *ay and while, the corruptions of the Eſtate of Biſhops, be all utterly, taken away*. And they ordained, *That all Biſhops already Elected ſhould ſubmit themſelves to the Gen. Aſſ. Concerning the Reformation of the Corruptions of that Eſtate of Biſhops, in their Perſons; Which, if they refuſed to do, after Admonition,*

(y) MS. Cald. 82. Pet. 395.

that

that they ſhould be proceeded againſt to Excommunication. This Aſſ. met, as I ſaid on the 11*th* of *June*, and indeed it ſeems the *weather* has been *warm* enough: Yet neither, now, did they adventure again upon the *Main Queſtion*, nor ennumerate the *Corruptions* of the *Eſtate* of *Biſhops*.

By this Aſſembly, a Commiſſion was alſo granted to certain Perſons to attend the Parliament, and Petition that the *Book of Diſcipline* might be Ratified; Tho' all the Articles were not, as yet, agreed to. A pretty *Odd* overture, to deſire the Parliament to *Ratify* what they themſelves had not perfectly *Concerted*.

The next *Aſſembly* met at *Edenburgh*, *Octob.* 24. of that ſame year 1578. And it was but reaſonable to have *three* Aſſemblies in *ſix* Months, when the Church was ſo *big* with *Presbytery*. And, now, the Corruptions, ſo frequently talk't of before, were ennumerated; and the Biſhops were required to Reform them in their Perſons. They were required, 1. *To be Miniſters or Paſtors of one Flock.* 2. *To uſurp no Criminal Juriſdiction.* 3. *Not to vote in Parliament in Name of the Kirk, without Commiſſion from the General Aſſembly.* 4. *Not to take up, for maintaining their Ambition and Riotouſneſs, the Emoluments of the Kirk, which ought to ſuſtain many Paſtors, the Schools, and the Poor; But to be content with reaſonable livings, according to their Office.* 5. *Not to claim the Titles of Temporal Lords, nor uſurp Civil Juriſdiction, whereby, they might be*

Abſtracted from their Office. 6. *Not to Empire it over particular Elderſhips, but be ſubject to the ſame*: So the *MS. Calderwood* and *Petrie* have it, tho' *Spotſwood* has the word, *Preſbyteries*; (z) Which I take notice of, becauſe the unwary Reader, when he reads, *Presbyteries*, in *Spotſwood*, may take them for theſe Eccleſiaſtical Judicatories which now are ſo denominated, whereas there were none *ſuch* as yet in the Nation. 7. *Not to uſurp the Power of the Paſtors* (ſays the *MS.*) *nor take upon them to viſit any Bounds not committed to them by the Church.* 8. And laſtly, *If any more Corruptions ſhould, afterward, be found in the Eſtate of Biſhops, to conſent to have them Reformed.* Theſe were the *Corruptions*: and particularly at that ſame very time, the *two Archbiſhops* were required to *Reform them in their Perſons.*

(z) MS. Cald. 85. Pet. 397. Spot. 303.

What *Adamſon*, Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews* did, or ſaid, on this occaſion, I know not; But, it ſeems he ſubmitted not: For I find him, again, required to do it by the next Aſſembly. And that it was particularly laid to his charge that he had oppoſed the *Ratification* of the *Book* in Parliament. But, *Boyd* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* did certainly behave at this Aſſembly like a Perſon of great worth and a Man of *Courage*, ſuitable to his *Character*, giving a *brave* and *reſolute* Anſwer: You may ſee it in *Spot. Cald.* and *Pet.* (a) I have not leiſure to tranſcribe it: But it pleaſed not the, *now*, too much Presbyterian Aſſembly; and no wonder, for

(a) Spot. 303. Cald. 84. Pet. 396.

for he ſpake truely like a Biſhop.

The next Aſſembly was holden at *Edenburgh*, in *July*, *Anno* 1579. "The King "ſent a Letter to them, whereby he ſigni- "fied his diſlike of their former proceedings, "and fairly adviſed them to ſhew more "temper, and proceed more deliberately. *Calderwood* calls it ane *Harſh Letter*: It is to be ſeen, word for word, both in him and *Petrie*. (*b*) But what had they to do with the *Kings* of *this World*, eſpecially ſuch *Babie Kings* as King *James* was, then; they, I ſay, who had now the Government of *Chriſts Kingdom* to *ſettle*? However, no more was done againſt *Prelacy*, at this time, than had been ordered formerly. Indeed there was little more to be done, but to declare the Office aboliſhed; But that, it ſeems they were not yet *Ripe* for; Perchance the *Corruptions* mentioned before had proved a little *Choaking*, and peoples ſtomachs could not be, ſo ſoon, diſpoſed, for another *diſh* of ſuch *ſtrong meat* in ane inſtant; ſo, *that* was reſerved till the next Aſſembly. Nevertheleſs,

(*b*) Cald. 86. 1 Pet. 328.

In the mean time take we Notice of one thing which we never heard of before; which ſtarted up in this Aſſembly; and which muſt not be forgotten. *It was propoſed by the Synod of* Lothian (ſaith *Calderwood*, (*c*) *That a General Order might be taken for Erecting of* Presbyteries *in places where publick exerciſe was uſed, until the Polity of the Church might be Eſtabliſhed by Law.* And it was An-

(*c*) Cald. 88.

ſwered by the Aſſembly, *That the exerciſe was a Preſbytery*, (*d*)

(*d*) MS. Cald. 88. Pet. 400.

A *Presbytery* turned afterwards, and, now, is, one of the moſt ſpecifick, eſſential and indiſpenſible parts of the *Presbyterian* conſtitution. *Provincial Synods* can ſit only *twice* in the year, *General Aſſemblies*, only *once*, according to the Conſtitution. 'Tis true, 'tis allowed to the King to Convocate *one* extraordinarily, *& pro re natâ* as they call it: And the *Kirk* claims to have ſuch a power too, as *ſhe* ſees occaſion. But then 'tis as true, that Kings have been ſo diſguſted at ſuch meetings that they have hindred General Aſſemblies to meet for many years: So that their meetings are uncertain; and in innumerable caſes, there ſhould be too long a *Surceaſe* of *Eccleſiaſtical Juſtice*, if *Cauſes* ſhould wait, either on *them*, or *Provincial Synods*. The *Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly*, as they call it, is but ane accidental thing: The ſuddain diſſolution of a General Aſſembly can diſappoint its very being; as juſt now there is none, nor has been, ſince the laſt Aſſembly, which was ſo ſurprizingly diſſolved in *February* 1692. When there is ſuch a *Court*, it commonly ſits but *once* in *three* Months; and it meddles not with every matter; Beſides, many of themſelves do not love it: and look upon it as ane error in the *Cuſtome* of the *Kirk*, for it was never made *part* of the *Conſtitution* by any *Canon* of the *Kirk* nor *Act* of Parliament. But

A *Preſ-*

A *Presbytery* is a *Conſtant Current Court*; They may meet when they will; Sit while they will; adjourn whither, when, how long, how ſhort time ſoever, they will. They have all the ſubſtantial *Power* of Government and Diſcipline; They have really a *Legiſlative Power*; They can make *Acts* to bind themſelves and all thoſe, who live within their Juriſdiction; and they have a very large *Doſe* of *Executive power*; They can *Examine*, *Ordain*, *Admit*, *Suſpend*, *Depoſe*, Miniſters; They can *Cite*, *Judge*, *Abſolve*, *Condemn*, *Excommunicate* whatſoever *Criminals*. The *Supreme power* of the Church, under Chriſt is *Radically* and *Originally* in them; It is in *General Aſſemblies*, themſelves, *Derivatively*, only, and as they *Repreſent* all the *Presbyteries* in the Nation; and, if I miſtake not, if a General Aſſembly ſhould Enact any thing, and the *greater part* of the *Presbyteries* of the Nation, ſhould *Reprobate* it, it would not be binding; and yet how neceſſary, how uſeful, how powerful ſo ever, theſe Courts are, tho' they are eſſential parts of the conſtitution; tho' they may be really ſaid to be that which *Specifies* Presbyterian Government; This *Time*, this *ſeventh* or *eighth* or *tenth* of *July*, *Anno* 1579., was the *firſt* time they were heard of, in *Scotland*.

That which was called the *Exerciſe* before, was nothing like a *Court*; had no imaginable *Juriſdiction*; Could neither *Injoyn Pennance* to the *ſmalleſt Offender*, nor *Abſolve* him from it; It could exert no Acts of Authority:

thority: It had not ſo much *Power* as the meaneſt *Kirk-ſeſſion*: It was nothing like a *Presbytery*: and, however it was ſaid, in this Aſſembly, *That the Exerciſe was a Preſbytery*, yet, that ſaying (as *omnipotent* as a Presbyterian Aſſembly is) did not make it *one*. That was not a *Factive* propoſition. There were no *Presbyteries* erected at this time: The *Firſt* that was erected, was the *Presbytery* of *Edenburg*: And if we may believe *Calderwood* himſelf, (*e*) *That Presbytery* was not erected till the *thirtieth* day of *May* 1581. more time was run before the reſt were erected: They were not agreed to by the King till the year 1586. They were not Ratified by Parliament till the year 1592. And now let the Impartial Reader judge if it is probable that our Reformers, who never thought on *Presbyteries*, were of the *preſent Presbyterian principles?* Were they Presbyterians who never underſtood, never thought of, never *dream'd* of that, which is ſo *Eſſential* to the conſtitution of a Church, by *Divine Inſtitution*, according to the preſent Presbyterian principles?

(*e*) Cald. 116.

But doth not *G. R.* in his *Firſt Vindication* of the Church of *Scotland*, in *Anſwer* to the *Firſt Queſtion*, §. 8. tell us that *the Real Exerciſe of Presbytery in all its meetings, leſſer and greater, continued and was allowed in the year* 1572, &c. True, he ſaith ſo: But no Man but himſelf ever ſaid ſo: But I know the *Natural Hiſtory* of this Ignorant blunder; His Hiſtorian *Calderwood* had ſaid that *the Kirk*

Kirk of Scotland *ever ſince the beginning*, *had four ſorts of Aſſemblies*, (*f*) and this was enough for *G. R.* For what other could theſe four ſorts of Aſſemblies be, than *Kirk-Seſſions*, *Presbyteries*, *Provincial Synods*, and *General Aſſemblies*? But if he had, with the leaſt degree of any thing like attention read four or five lines further, he might have ſeen that *Calderwood* himſelf was far from having the *brow* to aſſert that *Presbyteries* were, then, in being: For having ſaid there were four ſorts of Aſſemblies from the beginning, he goes on to particularize them, thus, "*National*, which were commonly called *General Aſſemblies*; *Provincial*, "which were commonly called by the General Name of *Synods*; *Weekly Meetings* of "Miniſters and Readers for interpretation "of the Scripture, whereunto *ſucceeded* "*Presbyteries*, that is, *Meetings of many Miniſters and Elders for the Exerciſe of Diſcipline*; and the *Elderſhip* of every *Pariſh*, "which others call a *Ptesbytery*. In which account, it is evident, that he doth not call theſe *weekly Meetings* for interpretation of the Scriptures, *Presbyteries*; But ſays, that *Presbyteries ſucceeded* to theſe *weekly Meetings*; and he gives quite different Deſcriptions of theſe *weekly Meetings* and *Presbyteries*; making the *weekly Meetings* to have been *of Miniſters and Elders for the interpretation of Scripture*; and *Presbyteries* to have been (as they ſtill are) *Meetings of many Miniſters and Elders*, *for the Exerciſe of Diſcipline*. 'Tis true, he might

(f) Cald. 29.

might have, as well, ſaid, that *Presbyteries ſucceeded* to the *Meeting* of the *Four* Kings againſt the *Five*, or of the *Five* againſt the *Four*, mentioned in the 14*th Chapter* of the *Book* of *Geneſis*; For the *Meetings* of theſe Kings were *before* our *Presbyteries*, I think, in order of time: And theſe *Meetings* of theſe Kings were as much like our *preſent Presbyteries*, as thoſe Meetings were, which were appointed at the Reformation for the interpretation of Scripture; So that even *Calderwood* himſelf was but *trifling* when he ſaid ſo: But *trifling* is one thing, and *impudent founding* of *falſe Hiſtory* upon another Mans *trifling*, is another. But enough of this Author at preſent; we ſhall have further occaſions of meeting with him.

This Aſſembly was alſo earneſt with the King that the *Book of Policy* might be farther conſidered; and that farther Conference might be had about it; That the Heads, not agreed about, might be compromiſed, ſome way or other. (*g*) But the King, it ſeems, liſtned not; For they were at it again, in their next Aſſembly. And now that I have ſo frequently mentioned this *Second Book of Diſcipline*, and ſhall not have occaſion to proceed much further in this weariſome Deduction; Before I leave it, I ſhall only ſay this much more about it.

(*g*) MS. Pet. 399. Cald. 87, 88.

As much ſtreſs as the *Presbyterian party* laid on it, afterwards, and continue, ſtill, to lay on it; as if it were ſo very exact a *Syſteme* of Eccleſiaſtical Polity; yet, at the begin-

beginning, the Compilers of it, had no ſuch Confident ſentiments about it; For, if we may believe *Spotſwood, (h)* (and herein he is not contradicted by any Presbyterian Hiſtorian) when Maſter *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *James Lawſon* and Mr. *Robert Pont*, were ſent by the Aſſembly to preſent it to the Regent, *Morton*, in the end of the year 1577, *They intreated his Grace to receive the Articles preſented to him, and if any of them did ſeem not agreeable to reaſon, to vouchſafe Audience to the Brethren, whom the Aſſembly had named to attend. Not, that they thought it a work complete, to which nothing might be added, or from which nothing might be diminiſhed; for, as God ſhould reveal further unto them, they ſhould be willing to help and renew the ſame.* Now, upon this Teſtimony, I found this Queſtion; Whither the Compilers of the *Second Book of Diſcipline*, could, in reaſon, have been earneſt that this *Book*, which they acknowledged not to be a work ſo complete, as that nothing could be added to it or taken from it, ſhould have been confirmed by ane *Oath*, and ſworn to, as ane *Unalterable Rule of Policy*? Are they not injurious to them who make them capable of ſuch a *bare faced* abſurdity? Indeed whatever our preſent Presbyterians ſay, and with how great aſſurance ſoever, they talk to this purpoſe, this is a Demonſtration, that the compilers of it, never intended, nay could not *intend*, that it ſhould be *ſworn* to in the *Negative Confeſſion*. That it was not *ſworn*

(h) Spot. 277.

to

might have, as well, ſaid, that *Presbyteries ſucceeded* to the *Meeting* of the *Four* Kings againſt the *Five*, or of the *Five* againſt the *Four*, mentioned in the 14*th Chapter* of the *Book* of *Geneſis*; For the *Meetings* of theſe Kings were *before* our *Presbyteries*, I think, in order of time: And theſe *Meetings* of theſe Kings were as much like our *preſent Presbyteries*, as thoſe Meetings were, which were appointed at the Reformation for the interpretation of Scripture; So that even *Calderwood* himſelf was but *trifling* when he ſaid ſo: But *trifling* is one thing, and *impudent founding* of *falſe Hiſtory* upon another Mans *trifling*, is another. But enough of this Author at preſent; we ſhall have further occaſions of meeting with him.

This Aſſembly was alſo earneſt with the King that the *Book of Policy* might be farther conſidered; and that farther Conference might be had about it; That the Heads, not agreed about, might be compromiſed, ſome way or other. (*g*) But the King, it ſeems, liſtned not; For they were at it again, in their next Aſſembly. And now that I have ſo frequently mentioned this *Second Book of Diſcipline*, and ſhall not have occaſion to proceed much further in this wearisome Deduction; Before I leave it, I ſhall only ſay this much more about it.

(*g*) MS. Pet. 399. Cald. 87, 88.

As much ſtreſs as the *Presbyterian party* laid on it, afterwards, and continue, ſtill, to lay on it; as if it were ſo very exact a *Syſteme* of Eccleſiaſtical Polity; yet, at the begin-

beginning, the Compilers of it, had no ſuch Confident ſentiments about it; For, if we may believe *Spotſwood, (h)* (and here- (h) Spot. in he is not contradicted by any Presbyte- 277. rian Hiſtorian) when Maſter *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *James Lawſon* and Mr. *Robert Pont*, were ſent by the Aſſembly to preſent it to the Regent, *Morton*, in the end of the year 1577, *They intreated his Grace to receive the Articles preſented to him, and if any of them did ſeem not agreeable to reaſon, to vouchſafe Audience to the Brethren, whom the Aſſembly had named to attend. Not, that they thought it a work complete, to which nothing might be added, or from which nothing might be diminiſhed; for, as God ſhould reveal further unto them, they ſhould be willing to help and renew the ſame.* Now, upon this Teſtimony, I found this Queſtion; Whither the Compilers of the *Second Book of Diſcipline*, could, in reaſon, have been earneſt that this *Book*, which they acknowledged not to be a work ſo complete, as that nothing could be added to it or taken from it, ſhould have been confirmed by ane *Oath*, and ſworn to, as ane *Unalterable Rule of Policy*? Are they not injurious to them who make them capable of ſuch a *bare faced* abſurdity? Indeed whatever our preſent Presbyterians ſay, and with how great aſſurance ſoever, they talk to this purpoſe, this is a Demonſtration, that the compilers of it, never intended, nay could not *intend*, that it ſhould be *ſworn* to in the *Negative Confeſſion*. That it was not *ſworn*

to

to in that *Confeſſion*, I think, I could prove with as much evidence as the nature of the thing is capable of, if it were needful to my preſent purpoſe: But not being that, I ſhall only give this further Demonſtration, which comes in here naturally enough, now, that we have mentioned this *Book* ſo often. The *Negative Confeſſion* was *ſworn* to and *ſubſcribed* by the *King* and his *Council* upon the 28. of *January* 158$\frac{0}{1}$. (*i*) Upon the *ſecond* of *March* thereafter the King gave out a *Proclamation*, ordering all the ſubjects to *ſubſcribe* it. (*k*) But the King had never approven, never owned, but on the contrary, had conſtantly rejected the *Second Book of Diſcipline*; Nay it was not *Ratified*, got not its *finiſhing ſtroke* from the *General Aſſembly* it ſelf, till towards the end of *April* in that year 1581: By neceſſary conſequence, I think, it was not *ſworn* to in the *Negative Confeſſion*. And thus I leave it. Proceed we now to the next Aſſembly.

(*i*) Cald. 96.

(*k*) Cald. 97.

It met at *Dundee* upon the *twelfth* of *July* 1580. full *twenty* years after the Reformation; For the Parliament which Eſtabliſhed the Reformation, (as the Presbyterian Hiſtorians are earneſt to have it) had its firſt Meeting on the *tenth* of *July* 1560. This, this was the Aſſembly, which, after ſo many *fencings* and *ſtrugglings*, gave the deadly *Thruſt* to *Epiſcopacy*. I ſhall tranſcribe its Act word for word from *Calderwood*, who has exactly enough taken it from the *MS.* and both *Spotſwood* and *Petrie* agree, (*l*) It is this,

(*l*) Cald. 90. Spot. 311. Pet. 402.

Fer-

Foraſmuch as the Office of a Biſhop, as it is now uſed and commonly taken within this Realm, hath no ſure Warrant, Authority nor good Ground out of the Book and Scriptures of God, but is brought in by the Folly and Corruptions of mens invention, to the great overthrow of the true Kirk of God, The whole Aſſembly, in one voice, after Liberty given to all men to Reaſon in the matter, none opponing themſelves in defence of the ſaid pretended Office; Findeth and Declareth the ſame pretended Office, Uſed and Termed as is aboveſaid, Unlawful in the ſelf, as having neither Fundament, Ground nor Warrant in the word of God; And Ordaineth, that all ſuch Perſons as brook, or hereafter ſhall brook the ſaid Office, be charged ſimpliciter *to dimit, quite, and leave off, the Samine; as ane Office whereunto they are not called by God; and ſicklike to deſiſt and ceaſe from preaching, Miniſtration of the Sacraments, or uſing, any way, the Office of Paſtors, while they receive,* de novo, *Admiſſion from the General Aſſembly, under the pain of Excommunication to be uſed againſt them; Wherein, if they be found Diſobedient, or Contraveen this Act in any point, The ſentence of Excommunication, after due admonition, to be execute againſt them.* This is the *Act*.

Perhaps it were no very great difficulty to impugn the *Infallibility* of this *true blue* Aſſembly, and to expoſe the boldneſs, the folly, the iniquity, the prepoſterous zeal, which are conſpicious in this Act; Nay, yet, after all this, to ſhew, that the *Zealots* for *Parity* had not arrived at that *height* of *Effrontery*, as to *Condemn* Prelacy, as *ſimply* and

and in it ſelf Unlawful: But, by this time, I think, I have performed my promiſe, and made it appear that it was no *eaſy* task to *Aboliſh* Epiſcopacy and *Introduce* Presbytery; to turn down Prelacy, and ſet up Parity in the Government of the Church, when it was firſt attempted, in *Scotland*: And therefore I ſhall ſtop here, and bring this long Diſquiſition upon the *Second Enquiry* to a Concluſion; after I have Recapitulated and repreſented in one intire view, what I have at ſo great length deduced.

I have made it appear, I think, That no ſuch Article was believed, profeſſed or maintained by the body of any Reformed or Reforming Church, or by any Eminent and Famous Divine in any Reformed or Reforming Church, while our Church was a Reforming; No ſuch *Article*, I ſay, as that, of the *Divine* and *indiſpenſible Inſtitution* of *Parity*, and the *Unlawfulneſs* of *Prelacy* or *Imparity* amongſt the Governours of the Church: I have made it appear that there is no reaſon to believe that our Reformers were more *prying* in ſuch matters than the Reformers of other Churches: I have made it appear that there is not ſo much as a ſyllable, a ſhew, a ſhadow of ane Indication, That any of thoſe who *Merited* the *Name* of *our Reformers*, entertain'd any ſuch Principle, or maintain'd any ſuch Article: I have made it appear that our Reformation was carryed on, much, very much, by the *Influences*, and upon the *principles*

principles of the *Engliſh Reformers*; amongſt whom that principle of *parity* had no imaginable *footing*: Theſe are, at leaſt, great *preſumptions* of the Credibility of this, That our Reformers maintain'd no ſuch principle.

Agreeably to theſe *preſumptions*, I have made it appear that our Reformers proceeded *de Facto* upon the *principles* of *Imparity*: They formed their *petitions* for the Reformation of our Church, according to theſe *principles*: The *firſt Scheme* of Church Government, they erected, was Eſtabliſhed upon theſe principles: Our *Superintendents*, were notoriouſly and undeniably *Prelates*: The *next* Eſtabliſhment, in which the *Prelates* reſumed the *old Names* and *Titles* of *Archbiſhops* and *Biſhops*, was the ſame for ſubſtance, with the *firſt*: At leaſt; they did not *differ* as to the point of *Imparity*: I have made it appear that this *ſecond* Eſtabliſhment was agreed to, by the Church, unanimouſly, and ſubmitted to calmly and peaceably; and that it was received as ane Eſtabliſhment which was intended to continue in the Church: At leaſt, no *Objections* made againſt it, no *appearances*, in oppoſition to it, no *indications* of its being accepted, only for ane *Interim* upon the account of *Imparity*'s being in its conſtitution: I have made it appear that *Imparity* was received, practiſed, owned and ſubmitted to, and that *Prelates* were ſuitably honoured and dutifully obeyed, without reluctancy;

and without interruption, for full *fifteen* years after the Reformation; and I have made it appear, that, after it was called in Queſtion, its Adverſaries found many Repulſes, and mighty difficulties, and ſpent much travel, and much time, no leſs than full *five* years, before they could get it Aboliſhed; and if the Deduction I have made puts not this beyond all doubt, it may be further confirmed by the Teſtimonies of two very intelligent Authors; The *firſt* is that ingenious and judicious Author who wrote the accurate piece, called *Epiſcopacy not Abjured in Scotland*, publiſhed *Anno* 1640. Who affirms poſitively, (*m*) "That it was "by Reaſon of oppoſition made to the "Presbyterians, by many wiſe, learned and "Godly Brethren, who ſtood, firmly for "the Ancient Diſcipline of the Church, "that Epiſcopacy was ſo long a condemn-"ing. It appears from his Elaborate work that he was ane *ingenuous* as well as ane *Ingenious* Perſon, and living then, and having been at ſo much pains to inform himſelf concerning not only the *Tranſactions*, but the *Intrigues* of former times, it is to be preſumed, he did not affirm ſuch a propoſition without ſufficient ground: But whatever *duſt* may be raiſed about his *Credit* and Authority; Sure I am, my other witneſs is unexceptionable. He is King *James* the *Sixth* of *Scotland*, and the *Firſt* of *England*; This Great and Wiſe Prince lived in theſe times in which *Presbytery* was *firſt* introduced;

(*m*) p. 97.

duced; and I think it is ſcarcely to be Queſtioned, That he underſtood, and could give a juſt account of, what paſſed, then, as well as any man, then, living; and he in his *Baſilion Doron*, (*n*) affirms plainly, *That the Learned, Grave and Honeſt Men of the Miniſtery, were ever aſhamed of, and offended with, the Temerity and Preſumption* of the Democratical and Presbyterian party. All theſe things, I ſay, I think, I have made appear ſufficiently; and ſo I am not affraid to leave it to the world to judge, *Whither our Reformers were of the preſent Preſbyterian principles?*

(*n*) p. 160. of his Works printed at *London* 1616.

Only one thing more, before I proceed to the next Enquiry. Our Presbyterian Brethren, *Calderwood*, *Petrie* and *G. R.* (as I have already obſerved) are very earneſt and careful to have their Readers advert, that when Epiſcopacy was Eſtabliſhed by the *Agreement* at *Leith*, *Anno* 1572. the *Biſhops* were to have no more *Power*, than the *Superintendents* had before; and, indeed it is true, they had no more, as I have already acknowledged; But I would adviſe our Brethren to be more Cautious in inſiſting on ſuch a dangerous point, or *Glorying* in ſuch a *Diſcovery*, hereafter; For thus I Argue.

The *Epiſcopacy Agreed to* at *Leith*, *Anno* 1572, as to its *Eſſentials*, its *Power* and *Authority*, was the ſame with the *Superintendency* Eſtabliſhed at the Reformation, *Anno* 1560. But the General Aſſembly holden

holden at *Dundee*, *Anno* 1580. *Condemned* the *Power* and *Authority* of the *Epiſcopacy*, *Agreed to* at *Leith*, *Anno* 1572. *Ergo* they *condemnd* the *Power* and *Authority* of the *Superintendency* Eſtabliſhed by our Reformers, *Anno* 1560. *Ergo*, the Aſſembly 1580. not only *forſook*, but *Condemned* the *principles* of *our Reformers*: But if this Reaſoning holds; I think our *preſent Presbyterian* Brethren have no Reaſon to *Claim* the *Title* of *Succeſſors to our Reformers*: They muſt not *aſcend* ſo high as the year 1560, They muſt *ſtand* at the year 1580; For, if I miſtake not, the Laws of *Heraldry* will not allow them to call themſelves the *True* Poſterity of *thoſe* whom *they* Condemn, and *whoſe* principles *they* Declare Erroneous. In ſuch *Moral Cognations*, I take *Oneneſs* of *principle* to be the *foundation* of the *Relation*, as *Oneneſs* of *Blood*, is in *Phyſical Cognations*. Let them not, therefore, go farther up than the year 1580. Let them *date* the Reformation from this Aſſembly at *Dundee*, and *Own* Maſter *Andrew Melvil* and *John Durie*, *&c.* for their *Firſt Parents*. When they have *fixed* there, I ſhall, perchance, allow them to affirm that the Church of *Scotland* was Reformed (in their ſence of Reformation) by *Presbyters*, that is *Presbyterians*. Proceed we now to

The

The Third Enquiry.

Whether Prelacy, and the Superiority of any Office, in the Church, above Presbyters, was a great and insupportable Grievance, and trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the Generality of the People, EVER *since the Reformation?*

Conſidering what hath been Diſcourſed, ſo fully on the former *Enquiry*, this may be very ſoon diſpatched: For, If *Prelacy, and the Superiority of other Officers in the Church, above Presbyters*, was ſo unanimouſly conſented to, and Eſtabliſhed at the Reformation; If it continued to be Owned, Revered, and Submitted to, by Paſtors and People, without interruption, without being ever called in Queſtion for full *fifteen* years after the Reformation; If, after it was *called in Queſtion*, its Adverſaries found it ſo hard a task to ſubvert it, that they ſpent five years more, before they could get it *ſubverted* and declared *Unlawful*, even, as it was, then, in *Scotland*; If theſe things are true, (I ſay) I think it is not *very Credible*, that it was *a great and inſupportable Grievance and trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality*

of the People EVER *ſince the Reformation.* This Collection I take to be as clear a Demonſtration as the ſubject is capable of. But beſide this, we have the clear and conſentient Teſtimonies of Hiſtorians to this purpoſe.

(a) Pet. ad An 1576. p. 352.

Petrie (*a*) delivers it thus, *Mercy and Truth, Righteouſneſs and Peace, had never, ſince Chriſts coming in the Fleſh, a more Glorious Meeting and Amiable Embracing, on Earth; Even ſo, that the Church of* Scotland *juſtly obtain'd a Name amongſt the Chief Churches and Kingdoms of the world — The hotteſt Perſecutions had not greater Purity; The moſt* Halcyon *times had not more Proſperity and Peace; The beſt Reformed Churches, in other places, ſcarcely Paralel'd their Liberty and Unity.*

(b) Spot. ad Anno 1571. pag. 258.

Spotſwood, (*b*) thus. *The Superintendents were in ſuch Reſpect with all Men, as, notwithſtanding the Diſſenſions that were in the Country, no Exception was taken at their proceedings, by any of the parties; But all concurred in the Maintainance of Religion; And in the Treaties of Peace made, That was ever one of the Articles: ſuch a Reverence was, in thoſe times, carried to the Church; The very form of Government purchaſing them Reſpect.*

I might alſo cite *Beza* himſelf to this purpoſe, in his Letter to *John Knox*, dated, *Geneva, April* 12. 1572: wherein he Congratulates heartily the happy and *United* ſtate of the Church of *Scotland.* Perhaps it might be no difficult task to adduce more Teſtimonies: But the truth is, no man can

Read

Read the Hiſtories and Monuments of theſe times without being convinced that this is true; and that there cannot be a falſer propoſition, than, *That Prelacy was ſuch a Grievance, then*, or, ſo *contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People.*

Further, even in ſucceeding times, even after it was Condemnd by that Aſſembly 1580, it cannot be proven that it was ſuch a *Grievance* to the *Nation.* 'Tis true indeed, ſome *Hot-headed* Presbyterian Preachers endeavoured, all they could, to poſſeſs the *People* with ane opinion of its *Antichriſtianiſm*, forſooth, and that it was a *Brat* of the *Whore*, a *Limb* of *Popery*, and what not? But all this time, no account of the *Inclinations of the Generality of the People* againſt it. On the contrary, nothing more evident, in Hiſtory, even *Calderwoods* Hiſtory, than that there was no ſuch thing. Is it not obviouſly obſervable, even in *that* Hiſtory, that after the Civil Government took ſome 12 or 14 of the moſt forward of *theſe Brethren*, who kept the pretended Aſſembly, at *Aberdeen*, *Anno* 1605 a little *Roundly* to *Task*, and ſome 6 or 8 more were called by the King, to attend his will, at *London*, all things went very peaceably in *Scotland*? Was not Epiſcopacy reſtored by the General Aſſembly at *Glaſgow*, *Anno* 1610, with *very great Unanimity*? Of more than ane *hundred* and *ſeventy voices*, there were only *five Negative* and *ſeven*, *Non liquet*. Nay *Calderwood* himſelf hath recorded that even

theſe Miniſters, who went to *London*, after their return, ſubmitted peaceably to the, then, *Eſtabliſhed Prelacy*. And there are few things more obſervable in his Book, than his *Grudge*, that there ſhould have been ſuch a *General Defection* from the *good Cauſe*. Indeed I have not obſerved, no not in his Hiſtory, that there were *ſix* in all the Kingdom, who, from the Eſtabliſhment of Epiſcopacy, *Anno* 1610. did not attend, at *Synods*, and ſubmit to their *Ordinaries*; I donot remember any except two, *Calderwood* himſelf, and one *Johnſton* at *Ancrum*; and even theſe two pretended other Reaſons than *Scruple* of Conſcience for their *withdrawing*.

It is further obſervable that the *Stirs* which were made, after the Aſſembly, at *Perth*, *Anno* 1618. were not pretended to be upon the account of *Epiſcopacy*; Thoſe of the *Gang*, could not prevail, it ſeems, with the *Generality of the People* to *tumultuate* on that account. All that was pretended were the *Perth Articles*: Neither did the *Humour* againſt *theſe Articles* prevail much, or far, all the time King *James* lived, nor for the firſt *twelve* years of King *Charles*, his Son and Succeſſor; It fell *aſleep*, as it were, till the *Clamours* againſt the *Liturgy* and *Book of Canons*, *awakened* it *Anno* 1637: And all that time, I mean, from the year 1610, that Epiſcopacy was reſtored, till the year 1637, that the *Covenanting work* was ſet on foot, *Prelacy* was ſo far from being *a great and inſupportable Grievance and Trouble to this Nation*,

and

and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People; that, on the contrary, it was not only Generally ſubmitted to, but, in very good eſteem. Indeed, it is certain, the Nation had never more Peace, more concord, more plenty, more profound quiet and proſperity, than in that Interval. Let no man reckon of theſe things as naked Aſſertions: I can prove them; And hereby I undertake (with Gods allowance and aſſiſtance) to prove all I have ſaid, and more, if I ſhall be put to it. But I think my cauſe requires not that it ſhould be done at preſent. Nay further yet,

I don't think it were ane inſuperable task, if I ſhould undertake to maintain, that, when the *Covenanting Politick* was ſet on foot, *Anno* 1637. *Prelacy* was no *ſuch Grievance* to the Nation. This I am ſure of, it was not the Contrariety of the Generality of the Peoples Inclinations to Prelacy that firſt gave life and motion to that *Monſtrous Confederation*. Sure I am, it was pretty far advanced, before the *Leading Confederates* offered to fix on *Prelacy*, as one of their Reaſons for it: So very ſure, that it is eaſy to make it appear, that they were affraid of nothing more, than that *the Generality of the People* ſhould *ſmell* it out, that they had *deſigns* to *overturn* Epiſcopacy. How often did they *Proteſt* to the *Marquis* of *Hamilton*, then, the Kings Commiſſioner, that their meaning was not to *Aboliſh* Epiſcopal Government? (c) How *frank* were they to tell

(c) See large Declar. 114, 115.

tell thoſe, whom they were earneſt to *Cajole* into their *Covenant*, that they might very well *ſwear* it, without prejudice to Epiſcopacy? (*d*) Nay how forward were the *Presbyterian* Miniſters themſelves to *propagate* this *pretence*? When the *Doctors* of *Aberdeen* told the *Three*, who were ſent to that *City* to procure ſubſcriptions, that they could not ſwear the *Covenant* becauſe *Epiſcopacy* was *abjured* in it. Are not theſe *Henderſons* and *Dickſons* very words, in their *Anſwer* to the *fourth Reply*, *You will have all the Covenanters, againſt their intention, and whither they will or not, to diſallow and condemn the Articles of* Perth, *and Epiſcopal Government*; — *But it is known, to many hundreds, that the words were purpoſely conceived, for ſatisfaction of ſuch as were of your Jugment, that we might all joyn in one Heart and Covenant?* Many more things might be readily adduced to prove this more fully: But 'tis needleſs, for what can be more fairly colligible from any thing, than it is from this *Specimen*, that it was their *fear*, that they might *miſs* of their *mark*, and not get the people to joyn with them, in their *Covenant*, if it ſhould be ſo ſoon diſcovered, that they *aim'd* at the *overthrow* of *Epiſcopacy*.

(*d*) Ibid. 69. & 173.

'Tis true indeed, after they had, by ſuch diſingenuous and *Jeſuitiſh Fetches*, gain'd *numbers* to their *party*, and got many well-meaning Miniſters and People engaged in their *Rebellions* and *Schiſmatical Confederacy*, they took off the *Maſk*; and condemned

Epiſ-

Epiſcopacy in their *pack't Aſſembly*, *Anno* 1638; Declaring with more than *Jeſuitiſh impudence*, that, (notwithſtanding of their proteſtations ſo frequently and publickly made to the contrary) it was *abjured* in their *Covenant*. And yet I dare advance this *Paradox*, that, even then, it was not ane *Inſupportable Grievance* to the *Presbyterians* themſelves, far leſs to the whole *Nation*. I own this to be a *Paradox*, and therefore I muſt ask my Readers allowance to give my Reaſon for which I have dared to advance it. It is this.

Conſidering how much Prelacy *affects* the *Church* as a *Society*; Of how great conſequence it is in the *Concerns* of the Church; whatever it is in itſelf, it cannot, in Reaſon, be called ane *Inſupportable Grievance* to *ſuch* as are *ſatisfied*, *they* can live *ſafely* and without *ſin*, in the *Communion* of that *Church*, where it *prevails*. If ſuch can call it a *Grievance* at all, I think they cannot juſtly call it *more* than a *Supportable Grievance*: I think it cannot be juſtly called ane *Inſupportable Grievance*, till it can *juſtify*, and, by conſequence, *Neceſſitate* a *Separation* from that Church which has *it* in its Conſtitution. How can that be called ane *Inſupportable Grievance*, eſpecially in Church matters, where *Grievance* and *Corruption*, (if I take them right, muſt be terms very much equivalent) to thoſe who can *ſafely ſupport* it? *i. e. Live* under it *without ſin*, and with a *ſafe Conſcience*, *continue* in the *Churches Communion* while

while *it* is in the *Churches Government*? How can that be called *insupportable*, which is not of such *Malignity* in a Church as to make *her* Communion sinful? How can that be called *insupportable* in *Eccleſiaſtical* concerns or *Religious* matters, to thoſe who are perſwaded they may *bear* it, or *with* it, without diſturbing their *inward Peace*, or endangering their *Eternal Intereſts*? Now, ſuch, in theſe times, were all the Presbyterians, at leaſt, Generally, in the Nation; They did not think upon *Breaking* the *Communion* of the *Church*; upon *ſeparating* from the *ſolemn Aſſemblies* under *Prelacy*, and ſetting up *Presbyterian Altars* in oppoſition to the *Epiſcopal Altars*: They ſtill kept up *one Communion* in the Nation: They did not refuſe to joyn in the *Publick Ordinances*, the *Solemn worſhip* of God and the *Sacraments*, with their *Prelatick* Brethren: all this is ſo well known, that none, I think, will call it in Queſtion. Indeed that *Height* of *Antipathy* to *Prelacy* had not prevailed amongſt the party, no not when Epiſcopacy had its *fetters* ſtruck off, *Anno* 1662. for then, and for ſome years after, the Presbyterians generally, both Paſtors and People kept the *Unity* of the *Church*, and *joyned* with the *Conformiſts* in the publick Ordinances: And I believe there are hundreds of thouſands in *Scotland* who remember very well how ſhort a time it is ſince they betook themſelves to *Conventicles*, and turn'd *avowed Schiſmaticks*.

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I Confeſs the reaſoning I have juſt now inſiſted on cannot militate ſo patly againſt ſuch: For if they had reaſon to *ſeparate*, they had the ſame Reaſon to call *Prelacy* ane *inſupportable Grievance*; No more and no other: But I cannot ſee how the *Force* of it can be well avoided by them, in reſpect of their Predeceſſors, who had not the *Boldneſs* to *ſeparate* upon the account of *Prelacy*.

But it may be ſaid that thoſe Presbyterians who lived *Anno* 1637. and downward, *Shook off* Prelacy, and would *bear* it no longer; and was it not, then, ane *inſupportable Grievance* to them? True, indeed, for removing the *pretended* Corruptions of *Prelacy*, they, then, ventured upon the, *really*, horrid ſin of Rebellion againſt their Prince; they embroyled three Famous and flouriſhing Kingdoms; They brake down the Beautiful and Ancient Structures of Government both in Church and State; They ſhed Oceans of Chriſtian blood, and made the Nations welter in gore; They gave up themſelves to all the wildneſſes of rage and fury; They gloried in Treaſon and Treachery, in Oppreſſion and Murther, in Fierceneſs and Unbridled Tyranny; they drench't innumerable miſs-led ſouls, in the Crimſon guilt, of Schiſm and Sedition, of Rebellion and Faction, of Perfidy and Perjury: In ſhort, they opened the way to ſuch ane Inundation of Hypocriſie, and Irreligion, of Confuſions, and Calamities, as cannot eaſily

eaſily be Parallell'd, in Hiſtory; And for all theſe things they *pretended* their *Antipathies* to *Prelacy*; and yet, after all this, I am where I was; Conſidering their aforeſaid principles and practices as to the *Unity* of the Church, they could not call it ane *Inſupportable Grievance*; They did not truly *find* it *ſuch*; Had they really and ſincerely, in true *Chriſtian ſimplicity* and ſobriety, found or *felt* it ſuch, they would, no doubt, have lookt on it, as a *forcible ground*, for *ſeparating* from the *Communion*, in which it prevailed; as the *Proteſtants*, in *Germany*, found their *Centum Gravamina*, for *ſeparating* from the Church of *Rome*. To have made it that, indeed, and, then, to have *ſuffered patiently*, if they had been *perſecuted* for it, without turning to the *Antichriſtian courſe* of *Armed Reſiſtance*, had had ſome *colour* of ane Argument that they deem'd it ane *inſupportable Grievance*; But the *Fierceſt fighting* againſt it, ſo long as they could allow themſelves to *live* in the *Communion* which *own'd* it, can never infer that it was, to them, ane *inſupportable Grievance*; at moſt, if it was, it was, to *wanton humour* and *wildfire*, only, and not to *Conſcience*, and real Chriſtian *Conviction*. And ſo I leave this Argument.

I could eaſily inſiſt more largely on this Enquiry, but, to avoid tediouſneſs, I ſhall advance only *one* thing more; It is a *Challenge* to my Presbyterian Brethren, to produce but *one publick deed*, one ſolemn or conſiderable

rable Appearance of the Nation, taken either *Collectively* or *Repreſentatively*, which by any tolerable conſtruction or interpretation, can import that *Prelacy* or *the ſuperiority of any Office in the Church above Presbyters, was a great and inſupportable Grievance and trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People*, for full *thirty* years after the Reformation.

The Learned *G. R.* thought he had found one, indeed, it ſeems, for he introduced it very *briskly*, in his *firſt Vindication* of the Church of *Scotland*, in *Anſwer* to the *firſt Queſtion*, §. 9. hear him. *It is Evident* (ſays he) *that Epiſcopal Juriſdiction over the Proteſtants was condemned by Law, in that ſame Parliament*, 1567, *wherein the Proteſtant Religion was Eſtabliſhed.* What? No leſs than Evident! Let us try this Parliamentary condemnation. *It is there Statute and Ordain'd, That no other Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical be acknowledged within this Realm, than that which is, and ſhall be, within this ſame Kirk, Eſtabliſhed preſently, or which floweth therefrom, concerning Preaching the word, Correcting of manners, adminiſtration of Sacraments.* So he: No Man who knows this *Author* and his *way* of writing will readily think it was ill manners to examine whither he cited right; I turn'd over, therefore, all the Acts of that Parliament which are in Print (and I think his citation ſhall ſcarcely be found amongſt the unprinted ones) but could not find this citation of our Author's. What was next

to

to be done? I knew that full well; I turn'd to the 43. *page* of *his Hiſtorian*, *Calderwood*, and there I found it word for word. Well! But is there no ſuch Period to be found in the Acts of that Parliament? Not one, indeed.

'Tis true, there is ane Act, the *ſixth* in number; Intituled, *Anent the true and Holy Kirk, and of them that are declared to be of the ſame*; which Act I find inſiſted on by the *Covenanters*, *Anno* 1638. in their Anſwer to the *Marquis* of *Hamiltons Declaration*, at *Edenburgh*, in *December*, that year, (as is to be ſeen in the *large Declaration*,) (*e*) as condemning Epiſcopacy. 'Tis very probable this might be the Act *Calderwood* thought he abridged in theſe words, borrowed from him by *G. R.* I ſhall ſet it down, word for word, that the world may judge if Epiſcopacy is Condemned by it.

(*e*) p. 352.

Foraſmuch as the Miniſters of the bleſſed Evangel of Jeſus Chriſt, whom God of his mercy hath now raiſed up amongſt us, or hereafter ſhall raiſe, Agreeing with them who now live, in Doctrine, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, (as, in the Reformed Kirks of this Realm, they are publickly Adminiſtrate) according to the Confeſſion of Faith; Our Soveraign Lord, with advice of My Lord Regent, and three Eſtates of this preſent Parliament, has declared, and declares, the aforeſaid Perſons, to be the only true, and Holy Kirk, of Jeſus Chriſt, within this Realm; And Decerns and Declares, that all and

and ſundrie, who, either, gainſay the word of the Evangel, received and approved, as the Heads of the Confeſſion of Faith Profeſſed in Parliament, before, in the year of God 1560. years; As alſo ſpecified in the Acts of this Parliament, more particularly doth expreſs, and now Ratified and approved in this preſent Parliament; Or that refuſes the Participation of the Holy Sacraments, as they are now Miniſtrate, to be no Members of the ſaid Kirk within this Realm, preſently Profeſſed, ſo long as they keep themſelves, ſo divided, from the Society of Chriſts Body.

This is the *Act*: Now, here, not one word of *Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction*, either *Foreign* or *Domeſtick*; Not one word of *any Juriſdiction* within this Realm, or in the *Kirk* within this Realm, or that ſhould *ever flow* from the ſaid Kirk; Not one word of *Correcting of Manners*: From which it is evident that, if this was the *Act*, *Calderwood* aim'd at, he gave the world a very *odd* abridgement of it: And *G. R.* ſhould conſider things, a little better, and not take them upon truſt, to found Arguments on them ſo Ridiculouſly.

But doth not this Act condemn Epiſcopacy? Let the world judge if it doth; what can be more plain, than that all this Act aims at is only to *Define* that Church, which, then, was to have the legal Eſtablſhment, and the countenance of the Civil Authority? This Church, it *Defines* to be, that Society of Paſtors and People which profeſſed the Doctrine of the Evangel, *&c.*

according to the Confeſſion of Faith then Eſtabliſhed: 'Tis plain, I ſay, this is all, that Act aims at: Not one word of *Juriſdiction* or *Diſcipline*, of *Government* or *Polity*, of *Epiſcopacy* or *Presbytery*, of *Prelacy* or *Parity*, of *Equality* or *Inequality* amongſt the Governours of the Church: Whatever the *Form* of Government was, then, in the Church, or whatever it might be, afterwards, was all *one* to this Act, ſo long as *Paſtors* (whither Acting in *Parity* or *Imparity*) and *People*, kept by the ſame *Rule* of Faith, and the ſame *manner* of adminiſtting the Sacraments. What is there here like a *Condemnation* of Epiſcopal *Juriſdiction*? Is this the way of *Parliamentary Condemnations*, to *Condemn* ane Office, or ane Order, or a Juriſdiction, (call it as you will) without either naming it, or deſcribing it, in terms ſo circumſtantiated as the world might underſtand, by them, that it was mean't? To *Condemn* a thing, eſpecially a thing of ſo great importance, without ſo much as repealing any *one*, of many Acts which Eſtabliſhed or Ratifyed it, before? Surely, if this Act Condemned Epiſcopacy, this Parliament happened upon a *New Stile*, a *Singular Stile*, a *Stile* never uſed *before*, never uſed *ſince*. Beſides,

If this was the Act *G. R.* intended, I would earneſtly deſire him to name but any *one Man*, who lived in theſe times, and underſtood *Epiſcopacy* to have been *Condemned* by this Act. How *blind* was Maſter *Andrew Melvil*!

Melvil? How *blind* was all the Presbyterian *Fraternity*, that, all the *five years*, they were *fighting* againſt *Prelacy*, could never hit on this *Act*, and prove that it ought to be no longer tolerated, ſeeing it was againſt ane *Act* of Parliament? Were they ſo little careful of *Acts* of Parliamant, that they would not have been at pains to cite them for their purpoſe? Mr. *Andrew Melvil* in his ſo often mentioned Letter to *Beza*, dated *Novemb.* 13. 1579. writes thus: *We have not ceaſed, theſe five years, to fight againſt Pſeudepiſcopacy (many of the Nobility reſiſting us) and to preſs the ſeverity of Diſcipline— We have many of the Peers againſt us: For they allege if Pſeudepiſcopacy be taken away, one of the Eſtates is pulled down*, &c. Now, how eaſy had it been for him to have ſtopt the *mouths* of theſe *Peers*, by telling them that it was taken away already by this Act of Parliament? What a *dunce* was the *L. Glamis Chancellor of Scotland*, (by conſequence, one, obliged by his ſtation, to underſtand ſomething, I think, of the Laws of the Nation) and all thoſe whom he conſulted about the Letter he wrote to the ſame *Beza*, that neither *he*, nor *they* knew any thing of this Act of Parliament, but told the Gentleman bluntly, that *Epiſcopacy ſubſiſted by Law*; *That the Pre-*

Leges Regni longo uſu & inveterata conſuetudine Receptæ, ut quoties de rebus ad Reipublicæ ſalutem pertinentibus in publicis Regni Comitiis agitur, nihil ſine Epiſcopis conſtitui poteſt, quum ipſi tertium Ordinem & Regni Statum efficiant quem aut mutare, aut prorſus tollere, Reipublicæ admodum eſſet periculoſum.

lates made one of the three Eſtates; that nothing could be done, in Parliament without them; and that the Legal Eſtabliſhment of the Order, and its lying ſo very near the foundation of the Civil Conſtitution, made it extremely dangerous to alter it, far more to aboliſh it? But what needs more? Let the Reader caſt back his eyes on the *Articles* agreed on betwixt the Church and the Nobility and Barons in *July* 1567, that ſame year, by which it was provided that all the Popiſh Biſhops ſhould be deprived, and that Superintendents ſhould ſucceed in their places. And then let him conſider if it be probable that Epiſcopacy was Condemned by this Act of Parliament.

But *G. R.* continues: *I hope* (ſays he) *none will affirm that Prelatical Juriſdiction then, was, or was ſoon after, Eſtabliſhed in the Proteſtant Church of Scotland:* Was not our Author pretty forward at *hoping*? Will none affirm it? I do affirm it: and I do affirm that if our Author had but lookt to the very next Act of that Parliament, the *ſeventh* in number, nay if he had but caſt his eye ſome *ten lines* upward in that ſame 43. *page* of *Calderwoods* Hiſtory, he would have ſeen the *Prelacy* of *Superintendents*, expreſsly *own'd*, and ſuppoſed in being by ane Act of that ſame Parliament, in the matter of granting *Collations* upon *Preſentations:* And now I leave it to the world to judge, if *G. R.* has not been very happy at citing Acts of Parliaments againſt *Prelacy.* But,

Being

Being thus engaged with him about Acts of Parliament, I hope it will be a pardonable digreſſion, tho' I give the world another inſtance of his *skill* and confidence that way.

The Author of the *ten Queſtions* had ſaid (in his Diſcuſſion of the firſt Queſtion) *That the Popiſh Biſhops ſate, in the Parliament which ſettled the Reformation*: A matter of *Fact* ſo diſtinctly delivered by *Knox*, *Spotſwood* and *Petrie*, (but paſſed over by *Calderwood*) that nothing could be more unqueſtionable: Nay even *Leſlie* himſelf has it, for he tells us that the *three Eſtates Conveened*; (*f*) and I think, in thoſe days the *Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate* was *one*, the *firſt*, of thee *three*: I think, alſo, *That Eſtate* was Generally *Popiſh*, Yet, however plain and indiſputable this *matter of Fact* was, our learned Author could contradict it: Take his Anſwer in his own words; *To what he ſaith of the Popiſh Biſhops ſitting in a Reforming Parliament, I oppoſe what* Leſlie *Biſhop of* Roſſe *a Papiſt hath*, de Geſt. Scotorum lib. 10. pag. 536. that *Concilium a Sectæ Nobilibus cum Regina habitum nullo Eccleſiaſtico admiſſo, ubi Sancitum, ne quis quod ad Religionem attinet, quicquam novi Moliretur; Ex hac lege* (inquit) *omne ſive Hæreſeos, ſive inimicitiarum, ſive ſeditionis malum, tanquam ex fonte fluxit.* Now, in the firſt place, I think it might be made a Queſtion, for what Reaſon our Author changed *Leſlies* words? Might he not have given us the Citation juſt as it was? *Leſlie* has it thus,

(*f*) Ineunte Auguſto, Edinburgum convocati ſunt tres Regni Ordines. Leſl. 529.

Convenientibus interim undique Sectæ Nobilibus, Concilium, nullo Eccleſiaſtico viro admiſſo, Edinburgi, *initur. In eo Concilio in primis Sancitum eſt, ne quis, quod ad Religionem attineret, quicquam novi moliretur: Sed res in eo duntaxat Statu quo erant, cum Regina ipſa in Scotiam primum appuliſſet, integræ manerent. Ex hac Lege, tanquam fonte, omne ſive hæreſeos, ſive inimicitiarum, ſive Seditionis malum in Scotia noſtra fluxit.* Becauſe *Leſlie* was a Papiſt, muſt his very *Latine* be *Reformed*? If this was it, if, I miſtake not, a further Reformation may be needful; for if *Leſlie* was wrong in ſaying, *in eo Concilio*, I think our Author has mended it but *ſorrily*, by putting, *ubi*, in its ſtead; *i. e.* by making ane *Adverb* of *place* the *Relative* to *Concilium*; And let the *Criticks* judge whither *G. R*'s. *attinet* or *Leſlies*, *attineret*, was moſt proper: But perhaps the true Reaſon was, that there was ſomething dark in theſe words, *Sed Res in eo duntaxat Statu quo erant, cum Regina ipſa in Scotiam primum appuliſſet, integræ manerent.* 'Tis true, indeed this Sentence quite ſubverts our Authors purpoſe; for it imports that there had been ſome certain ſort of Eſtabliſhment of Religion before the Queen came to *Scotland*, which was not judged fit then to be altered. Now that this Learned man may be no more puzzled with ſuch ane *obſcure piece* of Hiſtory, I will endeavour to help him with a *Clue*. Be it known to all men therefore, and particularly to *G. R.* the Learned and renowned

Vindi-

Vindicator of the Church of *Scotland*, That the Parliament which Eſtabliſhed the Reformation, and in which the *Popiſh* Biſhops ſate, was holden in *Auguſt* 1560; That *Queen Mary returned* not to *Scotland* till *Auguſt* 1561. That this *Council*, which *Leſlie* ſpeaks of, met after the *Queens return*, as is evident from *Leſlies* words; and that it was, at moſt, but a *Privy Council*; and nothing like a *Parliament*. Have we not G. *R.* now, a very accurate Hiſtorian? And ſo I leave him for a little, and proceed to the

Fourth Enquiry.

Whither Prelacy, and the Superiority of any Office, in the Church, above Fresbyters, was a great and inſupportable Grievance, and Trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People, when this Article was Eſtabliſhed in the Claim of Right?

THis Enquiry is about a very recent matter of Fact; the ſubject will not allow of Metaphyſical Arguments; It is not old enough to be determined by the Teſtimonies of Hiſtorians; It cannot be decided by the publick records or *Deeds* of the Nation; For, if I miſtake not, there was never

publick deed, before, founded, mainly, and in expreſs terms, upon the *Inclinations of the Generality of the People*; and I do not think it neceſſary, by the Laws of Diſputation, that I ſhould be bound by the Authority of a *publick deed*, which I make the *main thing in Queſtion*. The Method, therefore, which I ſhall take for diſcuſſing this *Enquiry*, ſhall be to give a plain Hiſtorical narration of the *Riſe* and *Progreſs* of this Controverſie, and conſider the Arguments made uſe of, on both ſides, leaving it to the Reader to judge whither *ſide* can pretend to the greater probability. The Controverſie as I take it had its *Riſe*, thus;

The *Scottiſh Presbyterians*, ſeaſonably forewarned of the, then, *P.* of *O.*'s deſigns to poſſeſs himſelf of the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, againſt his coming, had adjuſted their Methods for advancing their intereſts, in ſuch a iuncture; and getting their beloved *Parity* Eſtabliſhed in the Church; They were no ſooner aſſured that he was in ſucceſsful circumſtances, than they reſolved on putting their projects in execution: The firſt ſtep was, in ane *hurry* to *raiſe* the *Rabble*, in the *Weſtern* Counties, againſt the *Epiſcopal Clergy*, thereby, to *Confound*, and put, all things, in *Diſorder*: The next, it ſeems, amidſt ſuch confuſion, to endeavour, by all means, to have themſelves elected members for the *Meeting of Eſtates*, which was to be at *Edenburgh*, upon

the

the 14th of *March* 168⅔. In both ſteps the ſucceſs anſwered their wiſhes; and it happened that they got, indeed, the prevailing *ſway* in the Meeting: and in *gratitude* to the *Rabble* which had done them ſo ſurprizing ſervice, they reſolved not only to ſet up *Presbytery*, but to ſet it up on this *foot*, *That Prelacy was a great and inſupportable Grievance and Trouble to the Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People.*

If this was not, *it*, that determined them to *ſet up* their Government on this *foot*; I proteſt I cannot conjecture what it might be, that did it. Sure I am, there was no other thing done, then, that, with the leaſt ſhew of probability could be called ane *Indication* of the *Inclinations of the People*. They could not collect it from any clamours made, at that time, againſt Prelacy, by the *Generality of the People*; There were no ſuch clamours in the mouths of the *twentieth part* of the *People*. They could not collect it from the *Peoples ſeparation* from the Epiſcopal Clergy, during the time of *K. J.s toleration*; The *tenth part* of the *Nation* had not *ſeparated*. They could not collect it, from any *Covetous diſpoſition*, they could reaſonably imagine, was, in *the Generality of the People*, to make themſelves *Rich* by poſſeſſing themſelves of the *Revenues* of *Biſhopricks*; They could not but know that 6 or 7000 *l. ſter.* was a ſorry morſel for ſo many appetites; and they could not but know,

that

that when *Prelacy* ſhould be aboliſhed, *few*, and but a *very few*, could find advantage that way. They could not collect it from any ſuſpicions, *the People* could poſſibly entertain that the *Biſhops* or the *Epiſcopal Clergy* were inclining to turn *Papiſts*; They could not but know that *ſuch* had very far *outdone* the *Presbyterian Preachers* in their appearances againſt *Popery*. The *Members* of that *Meeting of Eſtates* had received no inſtructions from their *Reſpective Electors*, either in *Counties* or *Burghs* to *turn down* Prelacy and *ſet up* Presbytery; I could name more than *one* or *two*, who, if they did not *break* their *truſt*, did, at leaſt, very much *diſappoint* their *Electors*, by doing ſo. There were no *Petitions*, no *Addreſſes* preſented to the *Meeting*, by *the People*, craving the *Everſion* of Prelacy, or the *Erection* of Presbytery. They never ſo much as once offered at *Polling* the *People* about it. Shall I add further? After it was done, they never received *thanks* from the *Generality of the People*, for doing it. There was never yet any thing like ane *Univerſal Rejoycing* amongſt *the People*, that it was done. They durſt never yet adventure to require from *the Generality of the People*, their *Approbation* of it. And now,

If the Article was thus Eſtabliſhed, at firſt, *intirely* upon the *foot* of *Rabbling* the *Epiſcopal Clergy* in the *Weſt*, I think I might reaſonably ſuperceed all further labour about this Controverſie; For, not to mention that they were but the *Raſcally ſcum* of theſe *Counties*,

Counties, where the *Rabbling* was, who perform'd it; and that even in theſe *Counties* there are great numbers of *People*, who never reckoned *Prelacy a great and inſupportable Grievance and Trouble*; but lived, and could have, *ſtill*, lived, peaceably, and contentedly under it, particularly the moſt part of the Gentry. Not to inſiſt on theſe things, I ſay, but granting that all *the People* in theſe *Counties* had been inclined, as is affirmed in the Article; yet, what were *they* to the *whole* Nation? Is it reaſonable to judge of a *whole Kingdom* by a *corner* of it? To call *theſe* the ſentiments of *all* the Kingdom, which were only the ſentiments of *four* or *five* Counties? But leſt I have miſtaken, in fixing on the Performances of the *Weſtern Rabble*, as the *true foot* of this part of the Article; I ſhall proceed further, as I promiſed.

The *Article* (however founded) thus fram'd and publiſhed, ſurprized the *Generality of the People*; It was thought very *odd*, not only that *Prelacy* ſhould have been *Aboliſhed* upon ſuch *weak* Reaſons; But that *the Inclinations of the Generality of the People* ſhould have been pretended, at all, againſt it; Conſidering how ſenſible, *all People* were, that they had never been, ſo much as *once*, asked how they ſtood *inclined* in the matter. It came, therefore, to be very much the ſubject of common diſcourſe, if it really *was ſo?* And many, who pretended to know the Nation, pretty well, were very confident,

ſident, it *was not ſo*: And began to admire the wiſdom of the *Meeting of Eſtates*, that they ſhould have aſſerted a propoſition, ſo *very Poſitively*, which was ſo *very Queſtionable*. In ſhort, the noiſe turn'd ſo great about it, that it could not be confined within the Kingdom, but it paſſed the *Borders*, and ſpread it ſelf in *England*, particularly at *London*. This being perceived, one of the *Presbyterian Agents*, there, (I know not who he was) fell preſently on writing a *Book*, which he Entituled *Plain Dealing*, or, *A Moderate General Review of the Scottiſh Prelatical Clergy's, Proceedings in the Latter Reigns*. Which was publiſhed in *Auguſt*, I think, or *September* 1689; wherein, having ſaid what he pleaſed, ſenſe or nonſenſe, truth or falſhood, as he found it moſt expedient, for coming at his Concluſion, toward the end he gave his Arguments for his ſide of our preſent Controverſie. They were theſe two: Take them in his own words.

1. *There being* 32 *Shires or Counties, and two Stewartries (comprehending the whole body of the Nation) that ſend their Commiſſioners or Repreſentatives to Parliaments, and all General Meetings of the Eſtates or Conventions: Of theſe* 34 *Diſtricts or Diviſions of the Kingdom, there are* 17 *intirely Presbyterians; So that where you will find one, there, Epiſcopally inclined, you'll find* 150 *Presbyterians: And the other* 17 *Diviſions, where there is one Epiſcopally inclined, there are two Presbyterians.*

2. *Make*

2. *Make but a calculation of the valued Rent of* Scotland, *computing it to be leſs or more, or computed*, argumentandi gratia *to be three Millions, and you will find the Presbyterian Heritors, whither of the Nobility or Gentry, to be proprietors and poſſeſſors of two Millions and more, ſo that thoſe that are Epiſcopally inclined cannot have a third of that Kingdom: And as for the Citizens or Burgeſſes and Commonalty of* Scotland, *they are all Generally inclined to the Presbyterian Government, except Papiſts and ſome Remote wild and Barbarous Highlanders*, &c. *And all this* (he ſaith) *is ſo true that it can be made appear to a Demonſtration.*

I am not at leiſure to take ſo much *impudent traſh* to *task*: Only, he himſelf, if he knew any thing of *Scotland*, could not but know that, with the ſame *Moderation*, he might have aſſerted that all *Scottiſh Men* were *Monſters*, and all *Scottiſh Women*, at every *Birth* produced *Soutrikins*: And indeed, as he had the *hap* to *ſtumble* on two ſuch Demonſtrations, ſo I believe, to this minute, he may have the *happineſs* to *claim* them as his *property*; For I have never heard that any other of his Party (no not *G. R.* himſelf) had the *hardineſs* to uſe them after him. However, ſo far as I have learned, He was the *firſt Author*, who publiſhed any thing about this Controverſie.

The *Presbyterian party* having this adventured to *Exerciſe* the *Preſs* with it, *one* who intended to undeceive the world concerning ſome Controverſies between the *Epiſcopalians*

palians and the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, digeſted his *Book* into *ten Queſtions*, and made the *tenth* concerning our preſent ſubject: *viz. Whither Scottiſh Presbytery was agreeable to the General Inclinations of the People?* Arguing to this purpoſe, for the *Negative*: "That "the Nobility of the Kingdom (a very few, "not above a dozen excepted) had all ſworn "the *Oath* commonly called the *Teſt*, "wherein all *Fanatical* principles, and *Cove-*"*nant Obligations*, were renounced and abju-"red; That not *one* of 40 of the *Gentry* but "had *ſworn* it alſo; And not 50 in all *Scot-*"*land* (out of the *Weſt*) did, upon the "*Indulgence* (granted by *King James*, *Anno* "1687.) forſake their Pariſh Churches to "frequent Meeting-houſes; That the *Gene-*"*rality* of the *Commons* live in *Cities* and *Mar-*"*cat Towns*; That all who could be of the "*Common Council* in ſuch *Corporations*, or "were able to follow any *ingenious trade*, "were obliged to take the *Teſt* (and had "generally done it) That the *Clergy* ſtood all "for *Epiſcopacy*; There being of about a "*thouſand*, ſcarcely *twenty Trimmers* betwixt "the *Biſhop* and the *Presbyterian Moderator*; "which *twenty* together, with all the *Pres-*"*byterian Preachers*, could not make up the "*fifth* part of ſuch a number as the other ſide "amounted to: That in all the *Univerſities*, "there were not *four Maſters*, *Heads* or "*Fellows*, *inclined* to Presbytery: That the "*Colleges* of *Juſtice* and *Phyſick*, at *Edenburgh* "were ſo averſe from it, that the *Generality*

"of

" of them were ready, laſt Summer (*viz.* " 1689) to take Arms in defence of their " Epiſcopal Miniſters, *&c.* This *Book* was publiſhed, I think, in the beginning of the year 1690.

What greater Demonſtration could any Man deſire of the *truth* of the *Negative*, if all here alleged was *true?* And what greater Argument, of the *truth* of every *one*, of the *Allegations*, than the Confeſſion of a right uncourteous Adverſary? *G. R.* I mean, who in Anſwer to this *Book* wrote his *firſt Vindication of the Church of Scotland*, as it is now by Law Eſtabliſhed, as he calls it; Publiſhed at *London*, about the end of the year 1690, and Reprinted at *Edenburgh* in the beginning of 1691. But did he indeed acknowledge the *truth* of all the *Allegations?* Yes, he did it Notoriouſly.

He yielded to his Adverſary *all the gang of the Clergy except a few*; *The Univerſities, and the College of Juſtice*, at leaſt, *as lately ſtated*: He was not ſo *frank* to part with the *Phyſicians*, indeed, becauſe, if we may take his word for it, *There are not a few worthy Men of that Faculty who are far from Inclinations towards Prelacy*: But he durſt not ſay, it ſeems, that either the *major part* or any thing near the *half* was for him. He alſo yielded the *Generlity* of the *Burgeſſes*.

All the *duſt*, he raiſed, was about the *Nobility* and *Gentry*: But what *naſty duſt* it was, let any ſenſible man conſider: As for the Nobility, he granted there were only,

a few

a few who took not the Teſt: But then, he had *three things* to ſay, for them who took it. 1. *They who took the Oaths, did not, by that, ſhew their inclination ſo much, as what they thought fit to comply with rather than ſuffer:* But what were they to *ſuffer* if they took not the *Oaths*? The *loſs* of their *vote* in Parliament, and a *ſmall fine*, which was ſeldom, if at any time, exacted: But if they were to *ſuffer* no more, could their *Fears* of ſuch *ſufferings*, *force* them to take *Oaths* ſo *contrary to their inclinations*? Abſtracting from the *impiety* of mocking God, and the *wretchedneſs* of *croſſing* ones *light*, which are conſpicuous, in *ſwearing* againſt mens perſwaſions, could ſuch *ſufferings* as theſe *incline* any man to *ſwear* to ſupport ane intereſt which he lookt on as *ſo great and inſupportable a Grievance and Trouble to the Nation*? But this is not all, for he added: 2. *How many of theſe, now, when there is no force on them, ſhew, that it was not choice but* neceſſity *that led them that way*? I know he meant, that many of theſe *Nobles* have now broken through theſe *Oaths*: Let them Anſwer for that: But what had he to do, in this caſe, with his old friend *Neceſſity*? What *Neceſſity* can *force* a man to do ane *ill* thing? Beſides, can he prove that it was *Choice*, and not that ſame kind of *Neceſſity*, that led them in *the way* they have lately followed? That men can be for this thing to day, and the contrary to morrow, is a great preſumption that they do not much regard either; But

I think

I think it will be a little hard to draw from it, that they look upon the *one* as a *great and insupportable Grievance* more than the *other*. But the beſt follows; 3. *Many who ſeem to make Conſcience of theſe Bonds, yet ſhew no inclination to the thing they are bound to, except by the conſtraint that they brought themſelves under.* After this, what may not our Author make ane Argument, that *Prelacy* is ſuch ane *ill-lik't* thing, as he would have it? Seeing he has got even them to *hate* it, who are Conſcientiouſly *for it*?

Neither is he leſs pleaſant about the *Gentry*; He acknowledges, they, as generally, took the *Teſt*; which was enough for his Adverſary, as hath appeared. But how treats he the other Topick, about their not going to the Presbyterian Meetings, when they had King *James* his *Toleration* for it? Why? *A ſilly Argument*! Why ſo? *Many did go*; But did his Adverſary *lie groſſely* or *calumniate*, when he ſaid, that not 50 *Gentlemen* in all the Kingdom (out of the *Weſt*) forſook their Pariſh Churches and went to Conventicles? Our *Vindicator* durſt not ſay he did; And has he not made it evident that it was a *ſilly Argument*? But, *Moſt other clave to the former way* (he means the Epiſcopal Communion,) *Becauſe the Law ſtood for it, and the Meeting-houſes ſeem'd to be of uncertain continuance.* But would they have *cleaved* to the former *way* if they had thought it a *great and inſupportable Grievance and Trouble*? Would they have ſo *croſſed* their

Inclinations, as to have Adhered to the Communion of the Episcopal Church, when it was evident the sting was taken out of the Law, and it was not to be put in Execution? Were they so *fond* or so *affraid* of a *lifeless* Law (if I may so call it) that they would needs conform to it, tho' they had no *inclination* for such conformity? Tho' what they conform'd with, in obedience to that Law, was a *great and insupportable Grievance* to them? Did our Author and his Party reckon upon these Gentlemen, then, as Presbyterians? And what tho' *the Meetings seem'd to be of uncertain continuance?* How many of the *Presbyterian Party* said, in those days, that they thought themselves bound to take the *Benefit* of the *Toleration*, tho' it should be but of *short continuance?* And that they could return to the Church, when it should be retracted? Might not all men have said and done so, if they had been as much Presbyterians? 'Tis true our Author has some other things on this subject in that first Vindication: But I shall consider them afterwards. This was *G. R.*'s first *Essay* on this Controversie.

Another *Parity man* finding, belike, that neither the *Plain Dealer* nor the *Vindicator* had gained much credit by their performances, thought it not inconvenient for the *service* of his *Sect* to publish a Book, Entituled, *A further Vindication of the present Government of the Church of Scotland*; And therein to produce his Arguments for Determining

ing this Controverſie: It was Printed in *September*, I think; in the year 1691. 'Tis true he wrote ſomething like a *Gentleman*, and ſpake diſcreetly of the *Epiſcopal Clergy*; He had no *ſcolding* in his Book, and was infinitely far from *G. R.*'s flat *Railwifery*: And I think my ſelf obliged to thank him for his civility. But after all this, when he came to his Arguments for proving the point about the *Inclinations of the People*, I did not think that he much *helped* the matter. They were theſe two, (a)

(a) p. 32.

1. *Tho' the Biſhops were introduced in the year* 1662. *and did continue till the year* 1689. *During which time, the far greateſt part of all the Miniſtery in* Scotland *was brought in, by themſelves, and tho' they had obtained a National Synod formed for their own intereſt, yet they durſt never adventure to call it together, ſo diffident were they even of theſe Miniſters. And can there be a greater Demonſtration* (ſays he) *of the General inclination of this Nation againſt Prelacy?* But who ſees not how many things are wanting, here, to make a *probable Argument*, much more, *a Demonſtration?* For who knows not that it was not in the *Power* of the *Biſhops*, but of the *King*, to *Convocate* a *National Synod?* And who knows not, that *Presbyterian National Synods*, had committed ſuch *extravagances*, as might have tempted any *King*, almoſt, to have little *kindneſs* for *National Synods?* Again, ſuppoſing the *Biſhops* might have *obtain'd* one, if they had been for it, but would not ask

it, was there no other imaginable Reaſon for their forbearing to *ask one*, but their *Diffidence* of the *Miniſters*? One living 24 or 28 years agone might poſſibly have *ſlipt* into ſuch a *miſtake*; But for *one* who wrote only in the year 1691, after it was *viſible*, nay *ſignally remarkable*, that of near to a *thouſand Presbyters*, not above *twenty* had fallen from the *Epiſcopal principles*; But all had ſo generally continued *to Profeſs* them, and not only ſo, but to *Profeſs* them amidſt ſo *many diſcouragements*, to *Profeſs* them and *ſuffer* for them; After this. I ſay, for any man to *found* a *Demonſtration* for proving that *Prelacy is contrary to the inclinations of the People*, on the *Biſhops averſeneſs* to a *National Synod*; and to *found* that *averſeneſs*, on the *diffidence* they had of the *Presbyters*, as if they had *dreaded*, or had *ground* to *dread* that the *Presbyters* would have *ſubverted* their *order* if they had got a *National Synod*, ſeems to me a very ſingular undertaking. Sure I am, if there is any *Demonſtration* here at all, it is that there was no great *ſtore* of Demonſtrations to be had for our Authors *main Concluſion*. Neither was his other Argument any ſtronger, which is this;

2. *This National averſion is yet further Demonſtrated from this, that albeit Prelacy had all the Statutes that the Biſhops could deſire on their behalf, and had them put in Execution with the outmoſt ſeverity, yet there was ever found a neceſſity to keep up a ſtanding Army to uphold them, and to ſuppreſs the Averſion of the People;*

And

And notwithſtanding thereof there were frequent Inſurrections and Rebellions. Now who ſees not the *weakneſs* of this *Demonſtration?* For who knows not that a ſmall part of a Nation by their notorious *Ungovernableneſs*, and their habitual *Propenſities* to *Rebel*, may oblige the Government to keep up a *little ſtanding Army*, ſuch as ours in *Scotland* was, for ſuppreſſing them, if, at any time, they ſhould *break out* into a *Rebellion?* The party, I think, can have but little credit from ſuch *Demonſtrations:* For this *Demonſtration* muſt either ſuppoſe that *none* in the *Nation* are apt to *Rebel*, except *Presbyterians*, and *they*, too, only upon the head of *Church Government*; Or it can conclude nothing: For if *Presbyterians* can *Rebel* upon *other Reaſons*, tho' they make this the main, the ſpecious, the clamourous *Pretext*, as, I doubt not, their *Democratical principles* may *incline* them to do, upon occaſion; Or, if *others* than *ſincere* Presbyterians can venture on the *horrid ſin* of *Rebellion*, there is ſtill Reaſon for the *ſtanding Army*. Beſides, what *gain'd* they by theſe their *frequent Inſurrections and Rebellions?* Were they not eaſily and readily *cruſh't* by the *reſt* of the *Nation?* But if ſo, I think, if there is any Argument here at all, it concludes another way than our Author deſign'd it. But it is not worth the while to inſiſt longer on this Argument. Only,

If it is a good one, The Biſhops and their Adherents have Reaſon to thank our Author for ſhewing them the way, how

it, was there no other imaginable Reaſon for their forbearing to *ask one*, but their *Diffidence* of the *Miniſters*? One living 24 or 28 years agone might poſſibly have *ſlipt* into ſuch a *miſtake*; But for *one* who wrote only in the year 1691, after it was *viſible*, nay *ſignally remarkable*, that of near to a *thouſand Presbyters*, not above *twenty* had fallen from the *Epiſcopal principles*; But all had ſo generally continued *to Profeſs* them, and not only ſo, but to *Profeſs* them amidſt ſo *many diſcouragements*, to *Profeſs* them and *ſuffer* for them; After this. I ſay, for any man to *found* a *Demonſtration* for proving that *Prelacy is contrary to the inclinations of the People*, on the *Biſhops averſeneſs* to a *National Synod*; and to *found* that *averſeneſs*, on the *diffidence* they had of the *Presbyters*, as if they had *dreaded*, or had *ground* to *dread* that the *Presbyters* would have *ſubverted* their *order* if they had got a *National Synod*, ſeems to me a very ſingular undertaking. Sure I am, if there is any *Demonſtration* here at all, it is that there was no great *ſtore* of Demonſtrations to be had for our Authors *main Concluſion*. Neither was his other Argument any ſtronger, which is this;

2. *This National averſion is yet further Demonſtrated from this, that albeit Prelacy had all the Statutes that the Biſhops could deſire on their behalf, and had them put in Execution with the outmoſt ſeverity, yet there was ever found a neceſſity to keep up a ſtanding Army to uphold them, and to ſuppreſs the Averſion of the People;*

And

And notwithſtanding thereof there were frequent Inſurrections and Rebellions. Now who ſees not the *weakneſs* of this *Demonſtration?* For who knows not that a ſmall part of a Nation by their notorious *Ungovernableneſs*, and their habitual *Propenſities* to *Rebel*, may oblige the Government to keep up a *little ſtanding Army*, ſuch as ours in *Scotland* was, for ſuppreſſing them, if, at any time, they ſhould *break out* into a *Rebellion?* The party, I think, can have but little credit from ſuch *Demonſtrations*: For this *Demonſtration* muſt either ſuppoſe that *none* in the *Nation* are apt to *Rebel*, except *Presbyterians*, and *they*, too, only upon the head of *Church Government*; Or it can conclude nothing: For if *Presbyterians* can *Rebel* upon *other Reaſons*, tho' they make this the main, the ſpecious, the clamourous *Pretext*, as, I doubt not, their *Democratical principles* may *incline* them to do, upon occaſion; Or, if *others* than *ſincere* Presbyterians can venture on the *horrid ſin* of *Rebellion*, there is ſtill Reaſon for the *ſtanding Army*. Beſides, what *gain'd* they by theſe their *frequent Inſurrections and Rebellions?* Were they not eaſily and readily *cruſh't* by the *reſt* of the *Nation?* But if ſo, I think, if there is any Argument here at all, it concludes another way than our Author deſign'd it. But it is not worth the while to inſiſt longer on this Argument. Only,

If it is a good one, The Biſhops and their Adherents have Reaſon to thank our Author for ſhewing them the way, how

they may have their Government reſtored; For by this way of reaſoning they have no more to do but fall upon the *Knack* of raiſing *frequent Inſurrections and Rebellions*, againſt the preſent Government; And then their work is done: For thus a *Demonſtration* ſhall *befriend* them; this, when there is a *neceſſity* of keeping up a *ſtanding Army* to *ſupport* Presbytery, becauſe of *frequent Inſurrections and Rebellions*, raiſed on its account; It is a *Demonſtration* that it is *a great and inſupportable Grievance and Trouble to the Nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the Generality of the People, and therefore it ought to be Aboliſhed.* The truth is, ſuch *reaſonings* are not only *Sophiſtical*, but *dangerous*; They are founded upon the *principles* of Rebellion; and they *tend* directly and naturally *towards* Rebellion; And they ought to be noticed by every wiſe Government: And ſo I leave this Author.

The next *Paper-combat* I ſhall take notice of, was between the *Author* of the *third Letter* in the *Pamphlet*, called *ane Account of the preſent Perſecution of the Church in* Scotland, &c. publiſhed *Anno* 1690. And *G. R.* in his *Second Vindication*, publiſhed towards the end of the year 1691.

The *Epiſtler*, as *G. R.* is ſometimes pleaſed to call him, had craved a *Poll*, deeming it, it ſeems, the only proper method for coming at a ſure account of the *inclinations of the generality of the People*; and I think he had Reaſon: For if matters muſt go by the

the *inclinations of the People*, it is *juſt* to *aſk* the *People* about their *inclinations*. But would *G. R.* allow him this Demand, which had ſo much of plain equity in it? No, *His talk* (ſays he) *of putting the Matter to the poll I neglect as ane impracticable fancy.* (*b*) But who ſees not that this was plain *Fear* to put it upon ſuch ane *Iſſue*; What imaginable impoſſibility, or abſurdity, or difficulty, or inconveniency could make *polling*, upon this account, *Impracticable?* Was it not found *practicable enough*, in the *days* of the *Covenant*, when the *verieſt child*, if he could *write* his own *Name*, was put to it to *ſubſcribe* it? What ſhould make it more *impracticable* to *poll* the Kingdom, for finding the *Peoples inclinations*, about *Epiſcopacy* and *Presbytery*, than it was to *levy Hearth-money* from the whole Kingdom? Is it not as *practicable* to *poll* the Kingdom about *Church Government*, as to *poll* it, for raiſing the *preſent ſubſidy*, which is impoſed by *poll?* I am apt to believe, *the inclinations of the Generality of the People* would have been as much *ſatisfied*, if *polling* had been reduced to practice on the *one* account, as the *other*.

(*b*) 2d. Vind. ad Lett. 3. §. 5.

That ſame *Epiſtler*, in that ſame *Epiſtle*, adduced another Argument which was to this purpoſe: "That in the years 1687 and "1688, when the *Schiſm* was in its *Elevation*, there were but ſome *three* or *four* "Presbyterian *Meeting-houſes* erected on the "*North* ſide of the *Tay*, *i. e.* in the greater "half of the Kingdom; And theſe too, "very little frequented or encouraged; and

" that on the *South* ſide of that *River* (except " in the *five Aſſociated Shires* in the *Weſt*) the " *third* man was never engaged in the *Schiſm.* This was Matter of *Fact*: And if true, a ſolid Demonſtration that *Prelacy and the Superiority of any Office in the Church, above Presbyters was not, then, a great and inſupportable Grievance and Trouble to the Nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the People:* For had it been ſuch, how is it imaginable when there was ſuch ane *Ample* Toleration, ſuch ane *Abſolute* and *Unperplex't* Liberty, nay ſo much *notorious* encouragement given by the, then, Government to *ſeparate* from the *Epiſcopal Communion*, that ſo *few* ſhould have done it? Whoſo pleaſed might, then, have, ſafely, and without the leaſt proſpect of worldly hazard, joyn'd the Presbyterians: yet ſcarcely a *fifth* or a *ſixth* part of the Nation did it. I am not ſure that the nature of the thing was capable of a clearer evidence, unleſs it had been put to *the impracticable Fancy.* Let us next conſider *G. R.*'s Anſwers, and judge, by them, if the *Epiſtler* was wrong as to the *matter of Fact.* He hath ſome two or three: we ſhall try them ſeverally.

The *Firſt*, to the purpoſe, is, *If there be many in the Northern parts, who are not for Presbytery, there are as few for the preſent ſettlement of the State.* To what purpoſe is the preſent *ſettlement* of the *State* forced in here? Was the Controverſie between him and his Adverſary concerned in it, in the leaſt? What impertinent Anſwering is this? Is there

there ſo much as *one ſyllable* here that *Contradicts* the *Epiſtlers poſition*? But

2. *We affirm* (ſays *G. R.*) *and can make it appear not only that there are many in the North, who appeared zealouſly for Presbytery, as was evident by the Members of Parliament, who came from theſe parts: Very few of them were otherwiſe inclined, and they made a great figure in the Parliament for ſettling both the State and the Church.* If one were put to it to examine this Anſwer particularly and minutely, I think he might eaſily make even *G. R.* himſelf *wiſh* that he had never meddled with it: It were no hard task to give a juſt account how it only *happened* that there was ſo much as *one Northern* member (who was not ſuch by *birth*) of the *Presbyterian perſwaſion*, in the *Meeting* of *Eſtates*: It were as eaſy to repreſent what *Figures* ſome of them *made*, or can readily *make*, *Uncouth Figures*, truly: All this were very eaſy, I ſay, if one were put to it: But as it is not ſeaſonable, ſo it is not needful: For 'tis plain, nothing here, contradicts the *Epiſtlers* poſition: Tho' the *Northern* members, of the Presbyterian perſwaſion, had been *twice* as many as they were, and tho' they had made *greater figures* than can be pretended; yet, it may be very *true* that there were ſo few *ſeparatiſts* in the *Northern* Counties, as the *Epiſtler* affirmed there were. And for the reſpect *G. R.* owes to his *Northern Friends* and *Figure-makers*, I would adviſe him never again to inſiſt on ſuch a tender point; And ſo I leave it, and proceed to what follows.

3. *There*

3. *There are very many Miniſters in the North (and People that own them) who, tho' they ſerved under Epiſcopacy, are willing to joyn with the Presbyterians, and whom the Presbyterians are ready to receive when occaſion ſhall be given, and thoſe of the beſt Qualified among them.* How ſuch Miniſters as have joyn'd, or are ready to joyn with the Presbyterians, can be called the beſt Qualified amongſt the Epiſcopal Clergy, ſo long as *integrity* of life, *conſtancy* in *adhering* to true *Catholick Principles*, ane hearty *abhorrence* of *Schiſm*, *Conſcience* of the *Religion* of *Oaths*, *Self-denyal*, taking up the *Croſs* patiently and chearfully, and preferring *Chriſtian Honour* and innocence to *worldly conveniences*, can be ſaid to be amongſt the *beſt* Qualifications of a Chriſtian Miniſter, I cannot underſtand. I underſtand as little what ground our Author had, for talking ſo confidently about theſe *Northern* Miniſters: Sure I am, he had no ſure ground to ſay ſo; And I think the tranſactions of the laſt General Aſſembly, and the unſucceſsfulneſs of Mr. *Meldrum*'s Expedition to the *North*, this Summer, are Demonſtrations that he had no ground at all to ſay ſo; But whatever be of theſe things, I deſire the Reader to conſider, impartially, whither (ſuppoſing all were uncontroverted truth, our Author aſſerts ſo confidently, here,) this Anſwer convells the Matter of *Fact* aſſerted by the Author of the *Letter*? What is there here that looks like proving that the *Schiſm* was greater in the *North*, than was aſſerted

aſſerted by the *Epiſtler*? Or what is there here that can by any *colour* of conſequence infer that Prelacy in theſe *Northern* parts was a *great and inſupportable Trouble and Grievance, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People*? Doth not our Author acknowledge that theſe Miniſters ſerved under *Epiſcopacy*, and that their *People* own'd them, without any *Reluctancies* of *Conſcience*?

But the *Epiſtler* had ſaid *there were not above 3 or 4 Presbyterian Meeting-houſes on the North ſide of the Tay*, and the Vindicator ſays *they far exceeded that number*. How eaſy had it been for the *Vindicator* to have given us the *Definite* number of Presbyterian *Meeting-houſes*, in theſe parts, during the time of the above-mentioned *Toleration*? He who was ſo very exact to have his informations from all corners, might, one would think, have readily ſatisfied himſelf in this inſtance, and fairly fixt one *lie* on the *Epiſtler*: And is it not a great preſumption that the *Epiſtler* was in the *Right*, and that the *Vindicator*, who was ſo anxious to have all his Adverſaries *Liers*, was hardly put to it in this Matter? When he could do no more than oppoſe ane *Indefinite* number to the *Epiſtlers Definite one*? For my part I think it not worth the while to be poſitive about the *preciſe* number; But I can ſay this without Heſitation, that all who *ſeparated* from their Pariſh Churches, on that ſide the *River*, would not have filled *four* ordinary *Meeting-houſes*.

From

From what hath been ſaid, I think 'tis clear, the *Epiſtler* was honeſt enough in his reckoning for the *North* ſide of the *Tay*. Can all be made as ſafe on the *South* ſide? The *Epiſtler* had ſaid, that (except in the *Weſt*) *the third Man was never engaged in the Schiſm*: G. R. Anſwers, *We know no Schiſm but what was made by his party: But that the plurality did not ſuffer under the horrid perſecution raiſed by the Biſhops, Doth not prove that they were not inclined to Presbytery; But either that many Presbyterians had freedom to hear Epiſcopal Miniſters, or that all were not reſolute enough to ſuffer for their principle; So that this is no Rational way of judging of the Peoples inclinations.* I will neither engage, at preſent, with him, in the Queſtion, who is the *Scottiſh Schiſmatick*? Nor digreſs to the point of the *horrid Perſecution* raiſed by the Biſhops: Another occaſion may be as proper for them: But I deſire the Reader again, to conſider this Anſwer, and judge, if it keeps not a pretty good diſtance from the *Epiſtlers poſition?* Is any thing ſaid, here, that contradicts, that looks like contradicting the Matter of *Fact*? What new faſhion of Anſwering, is this, to talk whatever comes in ones head, without ever offering to attack the ſtrength of the reaſoning he undertakes to diſcuſs?

By this Taſte the judicious Reader may competently judge which is the right ſide of the preſent Controverſie; and withal, if I miſtake not, he may gueſs if the Presbyterian

an *Kirk* in *Scotland* was not well provided when it got *G. R.* for its *Vindicator*. Shall he furniſh thee, *O patient Reader*, with any more divertiſement; If thou canſt *promiſe* for thy *patience* I can *promiſe* for *G. R.*

This Learned Gentleman found himſelf to puzzled, it ſeems, about this part of the Article, that he was forced to put on the *Fools-cap*, and turn *Ridiculous* to mankind: However, it was even better to be that than to yeild in ſo weighty a Controverſie; than to part with the *Inclinations of the People*, that *Articulus Stantis & Cadentis Eccleſiæ*: But is there a *Play* to ſucceed worthy of all this *Prologue*? Conſider and judge.

He has ſo limited and reſtricted the Generality of the People, to make his cauſe ſome way defenſible, that, for any thing I know, he has confin'd them all within his own *doublet*: At leaſt, he may do it, before he ſhall need to yeild any more, in his Argument: He is at this *trade* of limiting in both his *Vindications*. *(a)* I ſhall caſt them together, that the world may conſider the *Product*.

(a) 1. Vind. ad Queſt. 10. 2. Vind. Anſwer to Letter 3. §. 4.

1. *There are many ten thouſands who are inconcerned about Religion, both in the greater and the leſſer truths of it; And it is moſt irrational to conſider them in this Queſtion.*

2. *There are not a few who are of opinion, that Church-Government, as to the* ſpecies *of it, is indifferent: Theſe ought not to be brought into the reckoning.*

3. *There*

3. *There are not a few, whoſe light and conſcience do not incline them to Epiſcopacy, who are yet zealous for it, and againſt Presbytery; Becauſe, under the one, they are not cenſured, for their immoralities, as under the other; Theſe ought to be excluded alſo. So ought all*

4. *Who had a Dependance on the Court*; And

5. *All who had a Dependance on the Prelates.*

6. *All Popiſhly Affected, and who are but Proteſtants in Maſquerade.*

7. *All Enemies to K.* W. *and the preſent Government.*

I am juſt to him; all theſe Excluſions out of the reckoning he has, if he has not more; And give him theſe, and he dares affirm, That *they who are Conſcientiouſly for Prelacy, are ſo few in* Scotland, *that not one of many hundreds or Thouſands is to be found*; 1 Vind. *They who are for Epiſcopacy are not one of a Thouſand in Scotland*; 2 Vind. *Now*, not to fall on examining his *Limitations* ſingly, becauſe that were to be *ſick* of his own *diſeaſe*.

In the *firſt* place, one would think, if he had been allowed his *Limitations*, he might, in all Conſcience, have ſatisfied himſelf without *begging* the *Queſtion* to boot; Yet, even that he has moſt *covetouſly* done; For, I think the *Queſtion* was not, who were Conſcientiouſly for Prelacy or inclined for Epiſcopacy? But, whither *Prelacy and the Superiority of any Office in the Church above Presbyters was a great and inſupportable Grie-*

vance

vance and Trouble to the Nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the Generality of the People? And there is ſome *difference*, as I take it, between *theſe Queſtions*. But let him take the *State* of the *Queſtion*; if he muſt needs have it, I can ſpare it to him: Nay, if it can do him ſervice, I can grant him yet more: When the Matter comes to be tryed by this his *Standard*, I ſhall be ſatisfied that it fall to his ſhare to be *judge*; He ſhould underſtand his own *Rule* beſt; and ſo may be fitteſt for ſuch *Nice* Deciſions, as a point ſo tender muſt needs require; Tho', I think, He may take the *ſhort cut*, as we ſay, and give his own judgment without more ado; For thither it muſt recur at laſt; Only I cannot gueſs why he excluded all *Popiſhly affected*, &c. Was it to let a *friend* go with a *foe*? I think he might have learned from Hiſtory, if not, from Experience, that Papiſts have been amongſt the beſt *friends* to his *Intereſts*; and very ready to do his party *ſervice* upon occaſion, which, it is not to be thought they would have done for *nothing*. But however this is,

Having granted him ſo much, I think, he is bound to grant me one little thing; I *ask* it of him only for *peace*; I can *force* it from him, if I pleaſe: It is, that all his *Limitations*, *Reſtrictions*, *Excluſions*, *Caſtings-out*, *Settings-aſide*, or what ever he pleaſes to call them, were adduced by him for ſetting the *Article* in its *Native* and proper *light*, and as it ought to be underſtood;

But,

But, if ſo, I cannot think he himſelf can repute it *unfair dealing*, to give the world a *fair view* of the *Article* as thus explained and *enlightened*: And ſo digeſted, it muſt run to this purpoſe, as I take it.

That Prelacy and the Superiority of any Office in the Church above Presbyters, is, and hath been, a great and inſupportable Grievance, and Trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the Generality of the People; Excluding from this Generality of the People, 1. *All theſe many ten thouſands of the People, who are unconcerned about Religion both in the greater and leſſer truths of it.* 2. *All theſe many of the People who are of opinion that Church-Government, as to the ſpecies of it, is indifferent.* 3. *All theſe other many of the People, whoſe Light and Conſcience do not incline them to Epiſcopacy, who are yet zealous for it, and againſt Presbytery, becauſe, under the one, they are not cenſured for their immoralities, as under the other.* 4. *All ſuch of the People as had any dependance on the Court.* 5. *Or on the Prelates.* 6. *Or are Popiſhly affected, and Proteſtants only in Maſquerade.* And 7. *All ſuch as are Enemies to* K. W. *and the preſent Civil Government; Ever ſince the Reformation: (They,* i. e. *ſuch of the People, as are not excluded, from the Generality of the People, by any of the aforeſaid Exceptions, having Reformed from Popery by Presbyters) and therefore it ought to be Aboliſhed.*

So the Article muſt run, I ſay, when duely *Enlightned* by our Authors *Gloſſes*; and when a *New Meeting* of Eſtates ſhall ſettle another

another *New Government*, and put ſuch ane *Article* in another *New Claim of Right*, I do hereby give my word, I ſhall not be the *firſt* that ſhall move Controverſies about it: But till that is done, *G. R.* muſt allow me the uſe of a certain ſort of *Liberty* I have, of *Thinking*, at leaſt, that *his wits were a wool-gathering* (to uſe him as *mannerly* as can be done by one of his own Complements) when he ſpent ſo many of *his ſweet words* (another of his Phraſes) ſo very *pleaſantly*.

Thus did *G. R.* defend this part of the *Article* againſt the Arguments of his Adverſaries: But did he produce *none*, for his own ſide of the Controverſie? Yes, *one*, and *only* one, ſo far as I can remember. It is in his Anſwer to the *firſt* of the *four Letters*, §. 7. The Letter written by the *Military Chaplain*, as he was pleaſed to call him.

This *Military Chaplain* had ſaid, *That the Church Party was Predominant in this Nation both for Number and Quality. That it is not ſo* (ſays G. R.) *is evident from the Conſtitution of our Parliament*: This is the Argument. Now, not to enter upon dangerous or undutiful Queſtions about Parliaments; I ſhall ſay no more at preſent but this; When *G. R.* ſhall make it appear that all the Acts and *Deeds* of the preſent Parliament have been, all alongſt, agreeable to the *Inclinations of the Generality of the People*; or when he ſhall ſecure the *other part* of the *Article*

againſt the *Dint* of this his own good Argument; I mean, when he ſhall make it appear that ſuch reaſoning is firm and ſolid, in the preſent caſe, and withal, ſhall make it appear, that the *Deeds* and *Acts* of *twenty ſeven Parliaments* (he knows well enough who numbred them to him) Ratifying and confirming Epiſcopacy, cannot, or ought not to amount to as good ane Argument for the *Inclinations of the Generality of the People* in former times: When he ſhall make theſe things appear, I ſay, I ſhall, then, think a little more about his Argument. This I think is enough for *him*. At preſent I ſhall conſider it no more; Only, now that he hath brought the preſent Parliament upon the *ſtage*, I will take occaſion to propoſe ſome few Queſtions, which the *minding* of it ſuggeſts to me: and I ſeriouſly deſire (not *G. R.* but) ſome truly ſenſible, ingenious, and ſober perſon of the Presbyterian perſwaſion; Some perſon who had opportunity to know how matters went, and a head to comprehend them, and who has Candour and Conſcience to relate things as they truly were, or are; To give plain, frank, direct and pertinent anſwers to them, ſpeaking the ſenſe of his heart, openly, and diſtinctly, without mincing, and without tergiverſation. My Queſtions ſhall not, in the leaſt touch the *Dignity* or *Authority* of the Parliament: All I deſign them for, is to bring *Light* to the preſent Controverſie. And I ask,

1. Whi-

1. Whither the Presbyterian party did not exert and concenter, all their Wit and Force, all their Counsel and Cunning, all their Art and Application, all their Skill and Conduct in Politicks, both before and in the beginning of the late Revolution, for getting a *Meeting* of *Estates* formed for their purposes?

2. Whither the Universal *Unhinging* of all things, then, and the general Surprize, Confusion and Irresolution of the rest of the Nation, occasioned thereby, did not contribute extraordinarily for furthering the Presbyterian Designs and Projects?

3. Whither, notwithstanding all this, when the *Estates* first met, they had not both great, and well-grounded *fears* that their *Projects* might miscarry, and they might be *outvoted* in the *Meeting*?

4. Whither very many, very considerable Members had not deserted the *House* before it was thought seasonable to offer at putting the *Article* about *Church-Government* in the *Claim of Right*?

5. Whither, tho' they got this Article *thrust* into the *Claim of Right*, and made part of the *Original Contract* between *King* and *People*, in the Month of *April* 1689. They were not, to their great grief, disappointed of the Establishment of their *Form* of Church-Government in the *first* Session of Parliament holden in *June*, *&c.* that same year.

6. Whither in the beginning of the *next*

Seſſion (which was in *April* 1690.) they were not under very dreadful apprehenſions of another diſappointment? And whither they would not have been very near to, if not in, a ſtate of Deſpair, if all the *Anti-Presbyterian* Members had unanimouſly conveen'd, and ſate in Parliament?

7. After they had recovered from theſe *fears*, and when they had the courage to propoſe the Eſtabliſhment of their Government, and it came to be *voted* in the *Houſe*, I ask, if it was any thing like a *full House*? Plainly, if a *third* part of thoſe who might have ſate as Members, were preſent?

8. Whither all thoſe Members who *voted* for it at that time, can be ſaid to have done it from a *Principle of Conſcience*, or a firm perſwaſion, they had, that *Prelacy was a great and inſupportable Grievance and Trouble to the Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People?* Or whither it may be ſaid without *Breach of Charity*, that not a few (of the *few*) *voted* ſo mainly from other principles, ſuch as *Complyance* with ſome *Leading Stateſmen? &c.*

9. Whither thoſe of the Presbyterian perſwaſion, after they found that they had prevailed in the Parliament, did not proceed to make the Act, obliging all Perſons in publick Stations to ſign the Declaration called the *Aſſurance*, as much, if not more, for ſecuring the Government in their own hands, and keeping out *Anti Presbyterians*, than

than for ſtrengthning *K. W.*'s intereſts?

10. Whither they had not in their proſpect, the great difficulty of getting Presbyterian Miniſters planted in Churches, if *Patronages* ſhould continue, when they made the Act depriving *Patrons* of theſe their *Rights*? And whither they had not in their proſpect the as great difficulties of getting ſuch Miniſters planted, if (according to the *true* Presbyterian principles, at leaſt pretenſions) the calling of a Miniſter, ſhould have depended upon the *plurality* of *voices* in the Pariſh, when they conſented to ſuch a *Model* for *calling* of Miniſters as was Eſtabliſhed in that ſame Seſſion of Parliament?

11. Notwithſtanding that Act of Parliament which Aboliſhed *Patronages* did notoriouſly encroach upon the *Peoples power*, *Legated* to them by Chriſt, in his Teſtament, according to the *Genuine* Presbyterian principles, by putting the *Real power* of *calling* Miniſters in the hands of the *Preſbytery*, for the greater Expedition and ſecurity of getting Presbyterian Miniſters planted in Churches; notwithſtanding all this, I ſay, I ask, whither they did not meet with many difficulties, and much impediment and oppoſition in the *plantation* of ſuch Miniſters in very many Pariſhes? In conſequence of this, I ask,

12. Whither it was not the ſenſe of theſe difficulties and oppoſitions which ſo frequently encumbred them, that made the

Presbyterian Miniſters, ſo notoriouſly, *betray* their *truſt* which they pretend to have, as *Conſervators* of the *Liberties* and *Privileges* of *Chriſts Kingdom* and *People*, when they conſented, that, in the *laſt* Seſſion of Parliament, *Chriſts Legacy* ſhould be ſo *clogg'd* and limited, as that none ſhall have *Power* of giving *voice* in the *calling* of Miniſters, till they ſhall firſt *ſwear* the *Oath* of *Allegiance* and *ſign* the *Aſſurance*.

13. And laſtly, I ask, whither our Presbyterian Brethren would be content that all that has been *done* in reference to Church Matters, ſince the beginning of the late Revolution, ſhould be lookt upon as *undone*; and that the *ſettlement* of the Church ſhould, again, depend upon a *new*, *free*, *unclogg'd*, *unprelimited*, *unover-awed Meeting of Eſtates*?

I am very much perſwaded, that a plain, candid, impartial, and ingenuous Reſolution, of theſe few Queſtions, might go, very far, in the Deciſion of this preſent Controverſie: And yet after all this labour ſpent about it, I muſt confeſs, I do not reckon, it was, in true value, worth threeteen ſentences: As perchance may appear, in part, within a little. And ſo I proceed to

The

The Fifth Enquiry.

Whither, ſuppoſing the Affirmatives in the proceeding Enquiries had been true, they would have been of ſufficient force, to infer the Concluſion advanced in the Articles, viz. *that Prelacy,* &c. *ought to be Aboliſhed?*

THe *Affirmatives* are theſe two; 1. *That Prelacy was a great and Inſupportable Grievance,* &c. 2. *That this Church was Reformed by Presbyters*: The purpoſe of this Enquiry is to try if theſe were good Reaſons for the *Abolition of Prelacy*; without further Addreſs, I think they were not; Not the

Firſt, viz. *Prelacy's being a great and inſupportable Grievance and Trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People.* Sure I am,

1. Our Presbyterian Brethren had not this way of Reaſoning from our *Reformers*; For, I remember *John Knox*, in his Letter to the *Queen Regent* of *Scotland*, (*a*) rejected it with ſufficient appearances of *Keenneſs* and *Contempt*; He called it a *Fetch* of the Devils, to *blind* Peoples eyes, with ſuch a *Sophiſm*; To make them look on *that Religion as moſt perfect, which the Multitude, by wrong cuſtom, have embraced*, or to inſinuate, *that it is impoſſible that that Religion ſhould be falſe,* (*a*) Kn. Ap. 90.

which ſo long time, ſo many Councils, and ſo great a Multitude of men have Authorized and confirmed, &c. *For* (ſays he) *if the opinion of the Multitude ought always to be preferred, then did God injury to the Original world; For they were all of one mind, to wit, conjured againſt God, except* Noah *and his family.* And I have ſhewed already that the *Body* of our *Reformers*, in all their *Petitions* for *Reformation*, made the word of God, the Practices of the Apoſtles, the Catholick Sentiments and Principles of the Primitive Church, *&c.* and not *the inclinations of the People*, the *Rule* of *Reformation.* Nay,

2. *G. R.* himſelf is not pleaſed with this *Standard*; He not only tells the world, *That Presbyterians wiſhed and endeavoured that that Phraſe might not have been uſed as it was*; (*b*) But he *ridicules* it in his *firſt Vindication*, in *Anſwer* to the *tenth Queſtion*, tho' he made himſelf *ridiculous* by doing it, as he did it. The Matter is this: The Author of the *ten Queſtions* finding that this *Topick* of *the inclinations of the People*, was inſiſted on in the Article as ane Argument for Aboliſhing Prelacy, undertook to Demonſtrate that, tho' it were a good Argument, it would not be found to conclude as the *Formers* of the *Article* intended; Aiming, unqueſtionably, at no more, than that it was not *true*, that *Prelacy was ſuch a great and inſupportable Grievance*, &c. and to make good his undertaking; He formed his Demonſtration, as I have already accounted. Now hear

(*b*) 2. Vind. in Anſw. to Lett. 3. §. 3.

G. R.

G. R. It is a new Topick (ſays he) *not often uſed before, that ſuch a way of Religion is beſt, becauſe*, &c. *This his Diſcourſe will equally prove that Popery is preferable to Proteſtantiſm; For in* France, Italy, Spain, &c. *not the Multitude only, but all the Churchmen*, &c. *are of that way.* Thus, I ſay, *G. R. ridiculed* the *Argument*, tho' he moſt *ridiculouſly* fancied, he was *ridiculing* his *Adverſary*, who never dream'd that it was a good Argument; But could have been as ready to *ridicule* it, as another: However, I muſt confeſs *G. R.* did indeed treat the Argument juſtly; For

3. Suppoſing the Argument good, I cannot ſee how any *Church* could ever have *Reformed* from *Popery*: For I think, when *Luther* began in *Germany*, or Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* in *Scotland*, or *Zuinglius* or *Oecolampadius* or *Calvin*, *&c.* in their reſpective Countreys and Churches, they had the *inclinations of the People generally* againſt them: Nay, if I miſtake not, our Saviour and his Apoſtles found it ſo too, when they at firſt undertook to propagate our Holy Religion; and perchance, tho' the Chriſtian Religion is now Generally Profeſſed in moſt Nations in *Europe*, ſome of them, might be ſoon *Rid* of it, if this *Standard* were allowed to take place.

I have heard of ſome who have not been well pleaſed with *Saint Paul* for having the word, *Biſhop*, ſo frequently in his Language; and I remember to have been told that *one*, (not

(not ane *Unlearn'd* one) in a Conference, being preſt with a Teſtimony of *Irenæus*'s (in his 3 *Cap.* 3 *Lib. Adverſus Her.*) for ane uninterrupted Succeſſion of Biſhops in the Church of *Rome*, from the Apoſtles times at firſt, denyed confidently that any ſuch thing was to be found in *Irenæus*; and when the Book was produced, and he was convinced by ane ocular Demonſtration that *Irenæus* had the Teſtimony which was alleged, he delivered himſelf to this purpoſe, *I ſee it is there, Brother, but would to God it had not been there!* Now, had theſe People, who were thus offended with *St. Paul* and *Irenæus*, been at the writing of their Books, is it probable, we ſhould have had them (with their *Imprimatur*) as we have them? Indeed, for my part I ſhall never conſent that the *Bible*, eſpecially the *New Teſtament*, be Reformed according to ſome *Peoples inclinations*: For if that ſhould be allowed, I ſhould be very much affraid, there would be ſtrange *cutting* and *carving*: I ſhould be very much affraid, that the *Doctrine of ſelf-preſervation* ſhould *juſtle* out, the *Doctrine of the Croſs*; That *Might* ſhould find more *favour* than *Right*, that the *Force* and *Power* ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the places, of the *Faith* and *Patience* of the *Saints*, and that (beſide many other places) we might ſoon ſee our laſt, of (at leaſt) the *firſt ſeven verſes of the* 13*th Chapter to the* Romans.

I ſhall only add one thing more, which *G.R.*'s naming of *France* gave me occaſion to think

think on: It is that the *French King* and his *Miniſters*, as much as ſome People talk of their *Abilities*, muſt, for all that, be, but of the ordinary *Size* of *Mankind*; For, if they had been as *wiſe* and *thinking* men, as ſome of their Neighbours, they might have eaſily ſtopt all the mouths that were opened againſt them ſome years ago, for their *Perſecuting* the *Proteſtants* in that Kingdom; For if they had but narrated in the *Edict*, that *the Religion of the Hugonots, was, and had ſtill been a great and inſupportable Grievance and Trouble to their Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People, ever ſince it was Profeſſed amongſt them*, their work was done. I believe *G. R.* himſelf would not have called the *Truth* of the *Propoſition* in Queſtion.

How eaſy were it to dwell longer on this ſubject? But I am affraid, I have noticed it too much already; To conclude then; What is this *Standard*, elſe, than the *Fundamental* principle of *Hobbiſm*, that *Holy Scheme* for *Brutalizing* Mankind, and making Religion, Reaſon, Revelation, every thing that aims at making men *Manly*, to yeild unto, at leaſt, to depend on, the *Friſks* of *Fleſh* and *Blood*, or, which is all one, *Arrant ſenſe* and *ungovernable Paſſion*? And ſo I leave it. But is the *Second Reaſon* any better? *If this Church had been Reformed by Presbyters, would that have been a good Argument for Aboliſhing Prelacy*? Who ſees not that it is much about the ſame *Size* with the

former?

former? Indeed I am apt to think, had the ſeveral Churches in the world erected their Governments, by this *Rule*, we ſhould have had ſome pretty *odd* Conſtitutions; Thus, the Church collected, of old, amongſt the *Indians*, by *Frumentius* and *Ædeſius*, ſhould have been Govern'd ſtill by *Laicks*; For *Frumentius* and *Ædeſius* were no more than *Laicks* when they firſt converted them. Thus all *Xaverius*'s Converts and their Succeſſors ſhould have been always Govern'd by *Jeſuits*; For 'tis paſt Controverſie *Xaverius* was a *Jeſuit*. Thus the Churches of *Iberia* and *Moravia* ſhould have been Govern'd by *Women*; For if we may believe Hiſtorians, the Goſpel got firſt footing in theſe parts, by the *Miniſtery* of *Females*. Indeed, if the Argument has any ſtrength at all, it ſeems ſtronger for theſe Conſtitutions, than for *Presbytery*, in *Scotland*, inaſmuch as it is more to *Convert Infidels*, than only to *Reform* a Church, which, tho' *Corrupt*, is allowed to be *Chriſtian*. Nay, which is more and worſe, *more contrary to the Inclinations of Scotch Presbyterians*, and *worſe* for *Scotch Presbytery*.

By this way of Reaſoning, *Epiſcopacy* ought ſtill, hitherto, to have continued, and hereafter, to continue the *Government* of the *Church* of *England*; Becauſe, that *Church* was *Reformed*, by her *Biſhops*. But, if ſo, what can be ſaid for the *Solemn League and Covenant*? How ſhall we defend our *Forty-three-men* and all the *Covenanting work*

of

of Reformation, in that Glorious Period? And if it muſt continue there, what conſtant Perils muſt our *Kirk* needs be in, eſpecially ſo long as *both Kingdoms* are under *one Monarch*?

What I have ſaid, I think, might be enough, in all Conſcience, for this *Fifth Enquiry*; But becauſe it is obvious to the moſt overly Obſervation, that the *Framers* of the *Article* have not been ſo much concerned for the *ſtrength* and *ſolidity* of the Reaſons, they chooſed for ſupporting their Concluſion, as for their *Colour* and *Aptitude* to catch the vulgar, and influence the populace; and becauſe our Presbyterian Brethren have of a long time been, and ſtill are, in uſe, to make zealous Declamations and huge noiſes about Succeſſion to our Reformers; Becauſe the clamour, on all occaſions, that thoſe who ſtand for Epiſcopacy have ſo much forſaken the *principles* and *maximes* of the *Reformation*, that they *Pay* our *Reformers* ſo little *Reſpect* and *Deference*; That they have *Secret Grudges*, at the *Reformation*; That they would willingly *return* to *Popery*; And what not? Whereas, *they themſelves* have a *Mighty Veneration* for thoſe who *Reformed* the *Church* of *Scotland*; They are their, only, true, and *Genuine Succeſſors*; They are the *only Men* who ſtand on the *foot* of the *Reformation*, the only *ſincere* and *heart*-Proteſtants, the only *Real Enemies* to *Antichriſt*, *&c.* For theſe Reaſons, I ſay, I ſhall beg the Readers patience

tience till I have diſcourſed this point a little farther. And to deal frankly and plainly,

In the firſt place, I own, thoſe of the Epiſcopal perſwaſion in *Scotland*, do not think themſelves bound to *maintain* all the *principles*, or *embrace* all the *ſentiments*, or *juſtify* all the *Practices* of our *Reformers*. 'Tis true, I ſpeak only from my ſelf; I have no Commiſſion from other men to tell their ſentiments; Yet I think the Generality of my *Fathers* and *Brethren* will not be offended, tho' I ſpeak in the *Plural number*, and take them into the reckoning. And therefore, I think, I may ſafely ſay,

Tho' *we* think, *our Reformers*, conſidering their Education and all their diſadvantages, were very conſiderable men, and made very conſiderable progreſs in Reforming the Church, yet we do not believe, they had any immediate allowance from Heaven for all they ſaid, or did: We believe they were not endued with the *Gifts* of infallibility, inerrability or impeccability: We believe (and they believed ſo themſelves) that they had no Commiſſion, no Authority, to Eſtabliſh new Articles of Faith, or make new Conditions of Salvation; We believe they had no Power, pretended to none, for receding from the Original and immovable *Standard* of Chriſtian Religion. In conſequence of this,

We believe and are confident, that where they *miſſed* (and being *Fallible*, it was very

very poſſible for them to do it) of *Conformity* to that *Standard*, we are at *Liberty* to think otherwiſe, than they *thought*; to Profeſs otherwiſe than they profeſſed; We are not bound to follow them. To inſtance in a few of many things.

We own we cannot allow of the principle of *Popular Reformations*, as it was aſſerted and practiſed by our Reformers. We *own*, indeed, 'tis not only *Lawful*, but *Neceſſary*, for *every* Man to *Reform* himſelf both as to *Principles* and *Practice*, when there is *Corruption* in *either*; And that, not only *without*, but *againſt* publick Authority, whither *Civil* or *Eccleſiaſtical*. Farther, we *own*, 'tis not only *Lawful*, but plain and *Indiſpenſible Duty* in the *Governours* of the *Church*, to *Reform* her, Acting in their own *Sphere*, even againſt *humane Laws*, in direct oppoſition to a *thouſand Acts* of a *thouſand Parliaments*; I ſay, *Acting* and *keeping* within their own *Sphere*, *i. e.* ſo far as their *Spiritual Power* can go, but no farther; *Keeping* within theſe their own bounds, they *may* and *ſhould* condemn *Hereſies*, purge the *publick worſhip* of *Corruptions*, continue a *Succeſſion* of *Orthodox* Paſtors, *&c.* In a word, *do* every thing, which is needful to be *done*, for *putting* and *preſerving* the *Church*, committed to their *Care*, in that *State* of *Orthodoxy*, *Purity* and *Unity*, which *Jeſus Chriſt*, *from whom* they have their Commiſſion, and *to whom*, they muſt be Anſwerable, has *Required* by his holy *Inſtitution*. But we cannot allow

allow them to move *Excentrically*, to turn *Exorbitant*, to ſtir *without* their own *Vortex*. We cannot allow them to uſe any other, than *Spiritual means*; or to make any other than *Spiritual Defences*: We think, they ſhould ſtill perform all *dutiful ſubmiſſion* to the *Civil Powers*; Never *Reſiſt* by *Material Arms*; never *abſolve* ſubjects from their *Allegiance* to their *Civil Sovereign*; Never *Preach* the *Damnable* Doctrine of *Depoſing Kings* for *Hereſie*; never attempt to make *thoſe* whom they ſhould make *good* Chriſtians, *bad* Subjects: But to *teach* them the great and *fundamental* Doctrine of the *Croſs*, and *Exemplify* it to them, in their *Practice* when they are *Called* to it. This we Profeſs: And we do not think it *Popery*. But our Reformers taught a quite *different* Doctrine. Their *Doctrine* was that it belong'd to the *Rabble* to *Reform* Religion publickly, to *Reform* it by *Force*; To *Reform* the *State* if *it* would not *Reform* the *Church*; To *Extirpate* all *falſe* Religion by *their* Authority; To *aſſume* to themſelves a *Power*, to overturn the *Powers* that are *Ordain'd of God*; To *depoſe* them, and *ſet* up *new Powers* in their ſtead, *Powers* that would *Protect*, that, which they *judged* to be the *beſt* Religion: Whoſo pleaſes may ſee this Doctrine fully taught by *Knox*, in his *Appellation*, (*a*) and he may ſee the ſame principle inſiſted on by Mr. *Henderſone* in his Debates with *K. C. I.* And who knows not that our *Reformation* was but too much *founded* on this *Principle*. Herein, I ſay,

(*a*) p. 22, 23, 24, &c.

ſay, we own we have *forſaken* our *Reformers*: And let our *Presbyterian* Brethren, if they can, *Convict* us, in *this*, of *Hereſie*.

In ſhort, our Reformers maintain'd that the Doctrine of *Defenſive Arms* was *Neceſſary*: That *Paſſive Obedience* or *Non-reſiſtance* was *ſinful*, when People had *means* for *Reſiſtance*. (*b*) That *Daniel* and his *Fellows* did not *Reſiſt*, by the *Sword*, *Becauſe God had not given them the Power and the means*. (*c*) That the *Primitive Chriſtians* aſſiſted their Preachers, even *againſt* the Rulers and Magiſtrates, and ſuppreſſed Idolatry, whereſoever God gave them *Force*. (*d*) They maintain'd that the *Judicial Laws* of *Moſes* (tho' not adopted into the Chriſtian Syſteme) in many conſiderable inſtances, continued ſtill obligatory; Particularly that the *Laws* puniſhing *Adultery*, *Murther*, *Idolatry* with *Death*, were *binding*; That in obedience to *theſe Laws*, that *Sentence* was to be executed not only on *Subjects*, but on *Sovereigns*; (*e*) That whoſoever executes *Gods Law*, on ſuch *Criminals*, is not only *innocent*, but in his *Duty*, tho' he have no *Commiſſion* from *Man* for it. That *Samuel*'s ſlaying *Agag the fat and delicate King of Amalek*; and *Elias*'s killing *Baal*'s *Prieſts*; and *Jeſabel*'s *falſe Prophets*; and *Phineas*'s ſtriking *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, *in the very Act of filthy fornication*, were *allowable Patterns* for *private men* to *imitate*. (*f*)

That all theſe and more ſuch ſtrange Doctrines were Common and Current amongſt them, I am able to prove at full

(*b*) Kn. Hiſt. 389. 396. App. 25. 107. Paſſim.
(*c*) Ibid. 317.
(*d*) Ibid. 393.
(*e*) Ibid. 391, 392, 393. Paſſim.
(*f*) Ibid. 356, 357.

length, if I ſhall be put to it. Beſides, they had many other Principles relating to other purpoſes, which I am perſwaded, were not founded on Scripture, had no Countenance from Catholick Antiquity, were not aggreeable to ſound and ſolid Reaſon, which we *own*, we are ſo far from maintaining, that we think our ſelves bound, both to Profeſs and Practice the contrary. And how eaſy were it to Confute as well as Repreſent ſome of Maſter *Knox*'s principles which perhaps were peculiar to him?

He fairly and plainly condemned *St. Paul* and *St. James*, the *firſt Biſhop* of *Jeruſalem*, for their practice, *Act.* 21. 18, 19, *&c.* (*g*) He eſteem'd every thing that was done in Gods ſervice, without the expreſs command of his word, vain Religion and Idolatry. (*h*) He affirmed that all *Papiſts* were *infidels*, both in publick and private; (*i*) I cannot think he was right in theſe things.

(*g*) Ibid. 100.

Spot. 93.

(*h*) App. 2.

(*i*) Kn. Hiſt. 363.

He had, ſometimes, *Prayers*, which do not ſeem to me to *Savour* any thing of a *Chriſtian Spirit*: Thus in *His Admonition to the Profeſſors of the Truth in England*, after he had inſiſted on the *Perſecutions* in *Queen Mary*'s time, he had this *Prayer*, (*k*) *God for his great Mercies ſake ſtir up ſome* Phineas, Elias *or* Jehu *that the blood of abominable Idolaters may Pacify Gods wrath, that it conſume not the whole Multitude, Amen.* I muſt confeſs it was not without ſome *horrour* that I put his own *Amen* to ſuch a petition. In that ſame

(*k*) Kn. App. 68.

ſame *Exhortation* he prays, alſo, thus, *Repreſs the pride of theſe blood-thirſty Tyrants; Conſume them in thine anger, according to the Reproach which they have laid againſt thy Holy Name. Pour forth thy vengeance upon them, and let our eyes behold the blood of the Saints required of their hands: Delay not thy vengeance, O Lord, but let death devour them in haſte; Let the Earth ſwallow them up, and let them go down quick to the hels; For there is no hope of their Amendment; The Fear and Reverence of thy Holy Name is quite baniſhed from their hearts; And therefore, yet, again, O Lord, conſume them; Conſume them in thine Anger.* (*l*) (*l*) App. 78.

Let the world judge if ſuch Prayers Savour of a Goſpel-ſpirit. Was this *loving our Enemies, or Bleſſing them that Curſe us, or Praying for them who deſpitefully uſe us, or Perſecute us*? Was this like *forgiving others their treſpaſſes as we would wiſh our own treſpaſſes to be forgiven*? Was this like *Father forgive them for they know not what they do. Or Lord lay not this ſin to their charge*? Did Maſter *Knox* conſider or know *what manner of ſpirit he was of*, when he offered up ſuch petitions?

I ſhall only give one other *Specimen* of Maſter *Knox*'s Divinity, and becauſe 'tis about a point which of late has been ſo much agitated, I ſhall not grudge to give his ſentiments ſomewhat fully: Becauſe, perchance, he may come to have ſome credit by it; He may chance to be honoured as a *Father* by the *Providentialiſts*. The Story is this.

He wrote a *Book* againſt the *Regiment* of *Women*, as he called it: His aim was principally againſt *Mary Queen* of *England*: When Queen *Elizabeth*, was raiſed to the Throne, ſome body having told her that he had written ſuch a *Book*, ſhe reſented it ſo, that ſhe would not allow him to ſet his foot on *Engliſh* ground, when he was returning from *Geneva* to *Scotland*, *Anno* 1559. This grated him not a little: However, he could not endure to think upon retracting the *Poſitions* in his *Book*; having once aſſerted them, he deem'd it point of Honour, it ſeems to adhere to them; for thus he told *Secretary Cecil* in a Letter from *Diepe*, *April* 10. 1559. (*m*) *He doubted no more of the Truth of his Propoſition, than he did, that it was the voice of God, which, firſt, did pronounce this Penalty againſt Women. In dolour ſhalt thou bear thy Children.* And in a Conference with *Mary* Queen of *Scotland*, *Anno* 1561. He told her, that, *to that hour, he thought himſelf alone more able to ſuſtain the things affirmed in that Book, than any ten Men, in* Europe, *could be, to confute them.* (*n*) But for all this, Queen *Elizabeth* (as I ſaid) was raiſed to the Throne of *England*; and it was needful her Majeſty ſhould not continue to have quarrels with him: Her Kindneſs and Countenance, at that time to him and his Projects, were worth little leſs than a *Deanry*; Some *Knack* was, therefore, to be *deviſed* for making a *Reconcilement* between *his Book* and *her Regiment*; Well! what was it he fix't on? Why? The *Providential Right* ſerv'd

(*m*) Kn. Hiſt. 226.

(*n*) Ibid. 315.

ſerv'd him to a Miracle: For thus he wrote, in his aforementioned Letter to *Cecil*; *If any Man think me either Enemy to the Perſon, or yet to the Regiment of her, whom God hath now promoted, they are utterly deceived in me: For the* MIRACULOUS *work of God, comforting his afflicted by ane infirm Veſſel, I do acknowledge: And I will Obey the Power of his moſt potent hand (Raiſing up whom beſt pleaſeth his Majeſty to ſuppreſs ſuch as fight againſt his Glory) Albeit that both* NATURE *and* GODS MOST PERFECT ORDINANCE REPUGNE *to ſuch Regiment. More plainly to ſpeak: If Queen* Elizabeth *ſhall Confeſs that the* EXTRAORDINARY DISPENSATION *of Gods great Mercy makes that* LAWFUL *unto* HER, *which both* NATURE *and* GODS LAW *do* DENY *unto all* Women, *Then ſhall none in* England *be more willing to maintain her* Lawful Authority *than I ſhall be: But if* (GODS WONDROUS WORK *ſet aſide)* She *ground (as God forbid) the juſtneſs of her Title upon* Conſuetude, Laws *and* Ordinances *of Men, then I am aſſured, that, as ſuch fooliſh preſumption doth highly offend Gods Supreme Majeſty, ſo, I greatly fear, that her Ingratitude ſhall not long lack puniſhment.* This was pretty fair, but it was not enough.

He thought it proper to write to that *Queen* her ſelf, and give her a *Diſh* of that ſame *Doctrine*. His Letter is dated at *Edenburg, July* 29. 1559. (o) In which having told (o) Kn. Hiſt. 231, 232.

told her, He never intended, by his *Book* to aſſert any thing that might be prejudicial to her *Juſt Regiment*, providing ſhe were not found Unfaithful to God, he beſpeaks her thus: *Ingrate you will be found in the preſence of his Throne, if you transfer the Glory of that Honour in which you now ſtand to any other thing than the* DISPENSATION *of his Mercy, which* ONLY *maketh* that *Lawful to your Majeſty which* NATURE *and* LAW denyeth *to all* Women, *to command and bear Rule over Men — In Conſcience I am compelled to ſay that neither the conſent of People, the Proceſs of time, nor Multitude of Men can Eſtabliſh a Law which God ſhall approve, but whatſoever he approveth, by his Eternal word that ſhall be approved, and ſtay conſtantly firm: And whatſoever he Condemneth ſhall be Condemned, tho' all Men on Earth ſhould travel for the juſtification of the ſame: And therefore,* Madam, *The only way to retain and keep the Benefits of God, abundantly of late days, poured upon you, and your Realm, is, unfeignedly, to render unto God, to his Mercy and undeſerved Grace, the whole Glory of all this your Exaltation: Forget your* BIRTH *and all* TITLE *which thereupon doth hang— It pertaineth to you to ground the* JUSTICE *of your Authority, not on that* LAW *which from year to year doth change, but upon the* ETERNAL PROVIDENCE *of him, who* CONTRARY *to the* ORDINARY *courſe of* NATURE, *and without your deſerving, hath exalted your Head. If thus in Gods preſence, you humble your ſelf, I will, with Tongue and Pen,*

Pen, juſtify your Authority and Regiment, as the Holy Ghoſt *hath juſtified the ſame in* Deborah, *that Bleſſed Mother in* Iſrael: *But if you neglect (as God forbid) theſe things, and ſhall begin to* Brag *of your* Birth, *and to* Build *your Authority and your* Regiment *upon your* own Law, *flatter you who ſo liſteth, your Felicity ſhall be ſhort*, &c. Let Contentious People put what *Gloſſes* they pleaſe on Biſhop *Overal's Convocation Book*, ſure I am, here is the *Providential Right* ſo plainly taught that no *Gloſſes* can obſcure it. Here it is maintain'd, in plain terms, and Reſolutely, in oppoſition, to all the *Laws*, not only of *Men*, but of *God* and *Nature*.

Thus I have given a *taſte* of ſuch principles as the *Prelatiſts*, in *Scotland*, profeſs they *diſown*, tho' maintain'd by our Reformers: It had been eaſy to have inſtanced in many more; But theſe may be ſufficient for my purpoſe, which was not in the leaſt, to throw *dirt* on our *Reformers* (to whom I am as willing as any man to pay a *due* reverence) but to ſtop the mouth of impertinent clamour, and let the world have occaſion to conſider if it is ſuch a ſcandalous thing, to *think* otherwiſe, than our Reformers *thought*, as our Brethren endeavour on all occaſions, to perſwade the populace: For theſe principles of our Reformers which I have mentioned in Relation to Civil Governments, are the principles in which we have moſt forſaken them: And let the world judge, which *ſet* of principles has

moſt of *Scandal* in it: Let the world judge, I ſay, whither *their* principles or *ours* participate moſt of the *Faith*, the *Patience*, the *Self-denyal*, *&c.* of Chriſtians: Whither principles have leaſt of the love of the world, and moſt of the image of Chriſt in them: Whither principles have greateſt affinity with the principles and practices of the Apoſtles, and their immediate ſucceſſors, in the *moſt afflicted*, and, by conſequence, the *moſt incorrupted* times of Chriſtianity: Whither principles have a more natural tendency towards the ſecurity of Governments and the peace of Societies, and ſeem moſt effectual for advancing the power of Godlineſs, and propagating the Profeſſion and the life of Chriſtianity. I further, ſubjoyn theſe two things.

1. I challenge our Presbyterian Brethren to convict us of the *Scandal* of receding from our Reformers in any *one* principle which they maintain'd, in *Common*, with the Primitive Church; the Univerſal Church of Chriſt, before ſhe was *tainted* with the *Corruptions* of *Popery*: And if we have not done it, (as I am Confident our Brethren ſhall never be able to prove, we have,) our *receding* from our *Reformers*, as I take it, ought to be no *prejudice* againſt us. I think the *Authority* of the *Catholick Church*, in the days of her indiſputed *Purity* and *Orthodoxy*, ought, in all Reaſon to be deem'd *preferable* to the *Authority* of our *Reformers*; eſpecially conſidering that they themſelves profeſſed

to

to own the *Sentiments* of the Primitive Church, as a part, at leaſt, of the *Complexe Rule* of Reformation, as I have already proved.

2. I challenge our Presbyterian Brethren to inſtance in ſo much as *one* principle, in which we have *Deſerted* our *Reformers*, wherein, our *Deſerting* them can, by any Reaſonable, by any Colourable conſtruction, be interpreted ane *approach* towards *Popery*. I think, no Man who underſtands any thing of the *Popiſh* Controverſies can readily allow himſelf the *Impudence* to ſay, that, to *diſlike Tumultuary Reformations*, and *depoſing Sovereign Princes*, and *ſubverting Civil Governments*, &c. upon the *ſcore* of Religion, is, to be for *Popery*; Or that the Doctrine of *Submiſſion* to Civil Authority, the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience* or *Non-reſiſtance*, or (which I take to be much about one, in the preſent caſe) the Doctrine of the *Croſs*, are *Popiſh* Doctrines; Or that to Condemn the *Traiterous Diſtinction* between the *Perſon* and the *Authority* of the *Civil Magiſtrate*, as it is commonly made uſe of, by ſome People, and as it is Condemned by the *Laws* of *both Kingdoms*, is, to turn either *Papiſtical* or *Jeſuitical*. Let our Brethren, if they can, *Purge* their *own Doctrines*, in theſe matters, of all *Conſanguinity* with *Popery*. And now, after all this,

3. I would deſire my Readers to remember, that this *Artifice* of *Prejudicating* againſt *principles*, becauſe *different* from, or *inconſiſtent*

ſtent with, the *principles* of our *Reformers*, is none of our Contrivance; Our Presbyterian Brethren, not we, were the *Firſt*, who ſet on foot this *Popular*, tho' very *pitiful* way of *Arguing*; By all the *Analogies*, then, of *equitable* and *juſt Reaſoning*, they ought to *endure* the *Tryal* of their own *Teſt*. And this brings me to Enquire whither they have ſtuck ſo preciſely by the principles of our Reformers, that they are in *Bona Fide* to inſiſt on ſuch a Topick? And I think they will not be found to be ſo, if I can make it appear that they have *Notoriouſly* deſerted the principles of our Reformers.

I. In the *Faith*.
II. In the *Worſhip*.
III. In the *Diſcipline*. And
IV. In the *Government* of the *Church*.

I. I ſay they have forſaken our Reformers as to the *Faith* of the Church. Our Reformers digeſted a *Confeſſion of Faith*, *Anno* 1560. They got it *Ratifyed* in *Parliament* that ſame year; It was again *Ratifyed*, *Anno* 1567. and in many ſubſequent Parliaments. It continued ſtill to be the publick, Authorized *Standard* of the *Faith* of this *National* Church, for more than *eighty years*. Our Reformers deſign'd it to be a *perpetual* and *unalterable Standard* of the *Faith* of this *National* Church, for ever. When the *Barons* and *Miniſters* gave in their *Petition*, to the Parliament, for ane Eſtabliſhment of the Refor-

Reformation, *Anno* 1560. *They were called upon and Commandment given unto them, to draw into plain and ſeveral Heads, the ſum of that Doctrine, which they would maintain, and would deſire the Parliament to Eſtabliſh, as* wholeſome, true, *and* only neceſſary *to be believed, and to be received within the Realm:* And, *they willingly accepted the Command, and, within four days, preſented the Confeſſion,* which was Ratified, (*a*) and that its Eſtabliſhment might paſs with the greater ſolemnity and formality of Law, The *Earl Marſhal proteſted* that it might never be altered. (*b*) Yet, now,

(*a*) Kn. 262. Pet. 220.

(*b*) Kn. 279.

Our Presbyterian Brethren have *ſet up* a quite *different Standard* of *Faith*, namely, the *Weſtminſter Confeſſion*, and have got it, now, *Ratifyed* by this current Parliament, *Anno* 1690. (it was never, before, *Ratified* by Act of Parliament) I call it a *quite different Standard* of *Faith:* Indeed, whoſoever diligently compares both *Confeſſions*, ſhall readily find it ſuch; He ſhall not only find many things *kept out* of the *Weſtminſter Confeſſion*, which *are in* the *Confeſſion* of our *Reformers*; and many things *put in* the *Weſtminſter Confeſſion*, which *were not* in the *Confeſſion* of our *Reformers*; and many things, nicely, minutely, preciſely and peremptorily determined, and that in the moſt Myſterious matters, in the *Weſtminſter Confeſſion*, which our Reformers thought fit (as was indeed proper) to expreſs in very *General* and *Accommodable Terms:* But he ſhall meet

meet with not a few plain, evident and irreconcileable *Contradictions*: And now, by this preſent Parliament, in its *Laſt Seſſion*, particularly, upon the *twelfth* day of *June*, *Anno* 1693, it is ſtatuted and ordained, *That no Perſon be admitted, or continued, for hereafter, to be a Miniſter or Preacher, within this Church, unleſs he ſubſcribe the* Weſtminſter Confeſſion, *declaring it to be the* Confeſſion *of* his *Faith*; *and that he owns the Doctrine* therein *contained to be the true Doctrine, to which he will conſtantly adhere.* And by unavoidable conſequence, he is bound to *ſubſcribe* to, and *own*, God knows how, many propoſitions, not only not required nor profeſſed by our Reformers; but directly *contrary* to their *Faith* and *principles*: And now, let the world judge if our Presbyterian Brethren are the *Succeſſors* of our *Reformers* in point of *Faith*.

II. They have forſaken them, yet more, in the point of *Worſhip*: and here a vaſt field opens; For to this head I reduce (artificially or inartificially, is no great matter, if I adduce nothing but wherein our Brethren have deſerted our Reformers) the publick *Prayers*, the publick *Praiſes*, the publick *Preaching* of the word, the adminiſtration of the *Sacraments*, *&c.* with all their Ceremonies, Solemnities and Circumſtances, *&c.* Generally, whatever uſes to be comprehended in *Liturgies*.

1. In the General, our Reformers were far from Condemning *Liturgies*, or *Set-Forms*

Forms in the publick *Offices* of the *Church*. There's nothing more plain, than that they preferred *publick* Compoſures to theſe that were *private*: Compoſures digeſted by the publick *Spirit* of the *Church*, to Compoſures digeſted by the private *Spirit* of particular *Miniſters*; and *Premeditated* and well *digeſted* Compoſures, tho' performed by *private* perſons, to the, too frequently, *Raſh*, *indigeſted*, *incompoſed* performances of the *Extemporary Gift*. They preferred *Offices* which were the productions of grave, ſedate, well pondered thoughts, to *Offices* which were moſtly the productions of *Animal Heat*, and *warmth* of *Fancy*.

John Knox himſelf (one who had as much *Fire* in his temper, and was as much inclined to have given ſcope to the *Extemporary Spirit*, I am apt to think, as any of our Reformers) had even a *ſet form* of *Grace* or Thankſgiving after meat, (*c*) he had a *ſet form* of *Prayer* for the *publick*, after *Sermon*, (*d*) and he had *ſet-forms* of *Prayers* read, every day in his *Family*. (*e*)

(*c*) Kn. 366.
(*d*) Kn. 384.
(*e*) Spot. 266.

In conformity to this principle, our Reformers for *ſeven years*, together, uſed the *Liturgy* of the Church of *England*, as I have fully proven.

When (by the importunity and perſwaſions of *John Knox*, principally, I am ſure, if not only) they reſolved to part with the *Engliſh Liturgy*, they continued ſtill as far as ever from Condemning *Liturgies*. They did not lay it aſide to take up none; They chooſed

chooſed another to ſucceed it; they chooſed that which went, then generally, under the name of *the Order of Geneva*, or the *Book of Common Order*; Since, under the name of *Knox's Liturgie*, or the *Old Scottiſh Liturgie*: This *Liturgie* continued in uſe, not only, all the time, the Government of the Church ſubſiſted by *Imparity*, after the Reformation; But even, for many *Decads* of years, after the Presbyterian *Spirit* and *Party* turn'd prevalent.

It was ſo univerſally received and uſed, and in ſo good eſteem, that, when it was moved by ſome in the Aſſembly holden at *Burnt-Iſland*, in *March*, *Anno* 1601. *That there were ſundry Prayers in it, which were not convenient for theſe times*, and a change was deſirable, the Aſſembly rejected the motion, and *Thought good, that the Prayers, already, contained in the Book, ſhould neither be altered nor deleted; But if any Brother would have any other Prayers, added, as more proper for the times, they ſhould firſt preſent them to be tryed, and allowed, by the General Aſſembly.*

(*d*) **MS.** Cald. 456. Pet. 558. (*d*) Here, indeed, was *caution* and *concern* about the *publick worſhip* worthy of a *General Aſſembly*. Nay,

The *Firſt-Rate* Presbyterians themſelves uſed the *Book*, as punctually, as any other People. When Mr. *Robert Bruce* (of whoſe zeal for the *good cauſe*, no Man, I think, can doubt) was relegated to *Innerneſs*, *Anno* 1605. *He remained there four years, Teaching every Sabbath, before noon, and every Wedneſday; And exerciſed at the Reading of the Prayers every*

every other night. (e) And Maſter *John Strimgeour* (another prime *Champion* for the *cauſe*) when he appeared before the *High Commiſſion, March* 1. *Anno* 1620, and was challenged for not putting in practice the *five Articles* of *Perth*; Particularly for not Miniſtering the *Euchariſt* to the People on their *knees*, anſwered, *there is no warrantable form directed or approven by the Kirk, beſides that which is extant in Print, before the Pſalm Book*, (*i. e.* the old Liturgy) *according to which, as I have always done, ſo now, I Miniſter that Sacrament.* (f) In ſhort, (e) Cald. 496. (f) Cald. 748.

It continued to be in uſe even after the beginning of the *Horrid Revolution*, in the days of King *Charles* the *Firſt*, and many old People, yet alive, remember well, to have ſeen it uſed indifferently, both by *Presbyterians* and *Prelatiſts*. But it is not ſo now.

Our *Modern* Presbyterians do not only *Condemn* the *Liturgie* of the Church of *England* (uſed as I ſay by our Reformers) calling it a *Dry, lifeleſs ſervice*, a *ſpiritleſs, powerleſs ſervice*; ane *unwarrantable ſervice*; ane *ill-mumbled maſs*; a *farce* of *Popiſh Dregs* and *Reliques*; a *Rag* of *Romiſh Superſtition* and *Idolatry*; and God knows how many ill things: But they Generally *Condemn* all *Liturgies*, all *ſet-forms* of *publick worſhip* and devotion; They will admit of *none*: All to them are alike odious and intolerable.

Herein, I think, there is a palpable *Receſſion* from the *principles* of our *Reformers*, about

about the publick and ſolemn *worſhip* of the Church; and that in a moſt weighty and material inſtance: But this is not all; They have not only *deſerted* our Reformers, and Condemn'd them as to *Forms*; But they have made very conſiderable and important Receſſions from them, as to the *matter*, both in the *ſubſtance* and *circumſtances* of *Liturgical Offices*; and here I muſt deſcend to particulars.

1. Then, our preſent Presbyterians obſerve no *Forms* in their *publick Prayers*, either before, or after Sermon; For the moſt part, they obſerve no *Rules*; They *Pray* by no *Standard*; Nay they do not *ſtick* by their own *Directory*: All muſt be *Extemporary* work; and the *newer*, the odder, the more ſurprizing both as to matter and manner, the *better*. If any Brother has not that *fire* in his *temper*, that *heat* in his *blood*, that *warmth* in his *Animal-ſpirits*, that *ſprightlyneſs* and *fervour* in his *fancy*, or that *readineſs* of *elocution*, *&c.* If he wants any *one* or *two* of theſe *many Graces*, which muſt concur for accompliſhing *one* with the *ready Gift*, and ſhall adventure to digeſt his thought, and provide himſelf with a *Premeditated Form* of his own making; He ſhall be concerned likewiſe to be ſo *wiſe* and *wary*, as to provide himſelf, either with a *variety* of ſuch *Forms*, or *many diſguiſes* for his *one* form, or he ſhall run the hazard of the ſucceſs of his Miniſtery, and his Reputation to boot; He is a *Gone-man* if the *Zealots* of the *gang* ſmell it out, that he

Prayed

prayed by *Premiditation*. *Fore-thought Prayers* are little leſs Criminal, than *fore-thought Felony*: He wants the *ſpirit*, and deſerves to be ranked amongſt the *Anti-Chriſtian Crue* of *Formaliſts*. Nay, ſo much are they againſt *ſet-forms*, that 'tis *Popery*, for any thing I know, to ſay the *Lords Prayer*.

Our Reformers never met for publick worſhip, but they uſed it *once* or *oftner*; And they uſed it as in *obedience* to our Saviours Commandment. Take, for a *taſte*, theſe inſtances, which I have collected from the *old Liturgy*.

The Prayer for the whole Eſtate of Chriſts Church, appointed to be ſaid after Sermon, is Concluded thus, *In whoſe name we make our humble petitions unto thee, even as he hath taught us, ſaying*, Our Father, *&c.* (*g*)

(*g*) Scot. Liturgy page 27.

Another Prayer to be ſaid after Sermon, has the *Lords Prayer* in the very *boſom* of it. (*h*)

(*h*) 39.

The *Prayer* to be uſed *when God threatens his Judgements*, concludes thus, — *Praying unto thee with all humility and ſubmiſſion of minds, as we are taught and commanded to Pray, ſaying*, Our Father, *&c.* (*i*)

(*i*) p. 53.

The Prayer to be uſed in time of Affliction, thus, *Our only Saviour and Mediator, in whoſe name we Pray unto thee as we are taught, ſaying*, Our Father, *&c.* (*k*)

(*k*) p. 56.

The Prayer at the *Admiſſion* of a *Superintendent* or a Miniſter, thus — *Of whom the perpetual increaſe of thy Grace, we crave, as by thee our Lord, King, and only Biſhop, we*

(l) p. 74. *are taught to Pray;* Our Father, *&c.* (*l*)
The *Prayer for the Obſtinate* (in the order for Excommunication) thus, — *Theſe thy Graces, O Heavenly Father, and farther, as thou knoweſt to be expedient for us, and for thy Church Univerſal, we call for, unto thee, even as we are taught, by our Lord and Maſter*
(m) p. 104. *Chriſt Jeſus, ſaying,* Our Father, *&c.* (*m*)
The laſt *Prayer before Excommunication*, thus, — *This we ask of thee, O Heavenly Father, in the boldneſs of our Head and Mediator Jeſus Chriſt, praying as he hath taught us,* Our
(n) p. 109. Father, *&c.* (*n*)
The *Confeſſion of ſins*, &c. in time of *publick Faſts*, thus: — *We flee to the obedience and perfect Juſtice of Jeſus Chriſt our only Mediator — Praying as he hath taught us, ſaying,*
(o) 170. Our Father, *&c.* (*o*)
The Prayer of *Conſecration in Baptiſm*, thus, — *May he brought as a lively Member of his Body, unto the full fruition of thy joys, in the Heavens, where thy Son, our Saviour Chriſt Reigneth, world without end; In whoſe name, we Pray, as he hath taught us, ſaying,* Our
(p) p. 189. Father, *&c.* (*p*)
So many of the Prayers uſed by our Reformers, were concluded with the *Lords Prayer*: And it is obvious to any body that ſometimes 3 or 4 of them were to be ſaid at *one Aſſembly*: And ſtill when the *Lords Prayer* is brought in, you ſee, 'tis plainly in *Obedience* to our Saviours *Command*, from which, 'tis clear our Reformers lookt on the uſing it, as, not only *Lawful*, but, *Neceſſary.*

ceſſary. Our preſent Presbyterians will not only, *not uſe* it, but they *Condemn* and *writ againſt* the *uſing* of it. Indeed,

They have not retained ſo much as *one* Form, except that of *Bleſſed* uſed by *Saint Paul*, 2 *Cor.* 13. 14. This indeed they commonly ſay (tho' I am not ſure they ſay it in the *Form* of a *Bleſſing*) before the Diſſolution of the Aſſembly: But why they have kept *this* and rejected all *other Forms*; or, how they can reconcile the *retaining* of *this*, with the *rejection* of *all other* Forms, I confeſs I am not able to tell: Let themſelves anſwer for that, as well as for *retaining ſet-forms* of *Praiſe* while they *Condemn ſet forms* of *Prayer.*

2. Our Reformers, in their publick Aſſemblies, never omitted to make a ſolemn and publick *Confeſſion* of their *Faith*, by rehearſing that which is commonly called *the Apoſtles Creed:* It was ſaid after the *Prayer for the whole Eſtate of Chriſts Church*, and it was introduced thus, *Almighty and Everliving God, vouchſafe we beſeech thee, to grant us perfect continuance in thy lively Faith, augmenting the ſame in us daily, till we grow to the full meaſure of our perfection in Chriſt, whereof we make our Confeſſion, ſaying,* I believe in God the Father, *&c.* Herein they are intirely deſerted by our preſent Presbyterians alſo.

3. The *Preaching* of the word may be performed two ways; By the *publick Reading* of the *Scriptures*; and by *Sermons, &c.* founded on the Scriptures: Our preſent

Presbyterians, in both theſe, have *Receded* from our Reformers.

1. As for the *Reading* of the *Scriptures*, our Reformers delivered themſelves thus, in the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline, Head* 9. (*q*) *We think neceſſary that every Church have a Bible in Engliſh, and that the People conveen to hear the Scriptures Read and Interpreted; that by frequent Reading and Hearing, the groſs ignorance of the People may be removed; And we judge it moſt expedient, that the Scriptures be read in order, that is, that ſome one Book of the Old and New Teſtament be begun and followed forth to the end.* For a good many years after the Reformation there was ane order of men, called *Readers*, who ſupplyed the want of Miniſters in many Pariſhes: Their Office was to *Read* the *Scriptures* and the *Common Prayers:* The *Scriptures* continued to be *Read* in Churches for more than *eighty* years, after the Reformation: In many Pariſhes, the *old Bibles*, are ſtill extant, from which the Scriptures were Read: Even the *Directory* it ſelf, introduced, not before the year 1645. appointed *the Scriptures to be Read publickly in Churches, one Chapter out of each Teſtament, at leaſt, every* Sunday *before Sermon, as being part of the publick worſhip of God, and one means Sanctified by him for the Edifying of his People* Yet, now, what a *Scandal* would it be to have the *Scriptures Read* in the Presbyterian Churches? The laſt days *Sermons*, taken from the mouth of the powerful Preacher, by the inſpired fingers of *Godly*

(*q*) Spot. 170.

George

George or *Gracious Barbara*, in ſome Churches of no mean *Note*, have been *Deem'd* more *Edifying* than the *Divine Oracles*. The *Scriptures* muſt not be *touched* but by the *Man of God*, who can *interpret* them; And he muſt *Read* no *more* than he is, juſt then, to *interpret*: What ſhall I ſay? Let Proteſtant Divines *Cant* as they pleaſe about the *Perſpicuity* of the Scriptures, 'tis a dangerous thing to have them *Read* publickly without *Orthodox Gloſſes*, to keep them *cloſe* and *true* to the principles of the *Godly*: And who knows but it might be expedient to *wrap* them up again in the *unknown tongue*? But enough of this.

2. As for *Sermons*, &c. The *Firſt Book of Diſcipline* gives us the ſentiment of our Reformers, thus, *The* Sunday, *in all Towns, muſt preciſely be obſerved; before and after noon; before noon, the word muſt be Preached, Sacraments Adminiſtred*, &c. *After noon, the Catechiſm muſt be taught, and the young Children examined thereupon, in audience of all the People.* (r) This continued the *manner* of the Church of *Scotland*, for full *twenty* years, after the Reformation: For I find no mention of *afternoons Sermons*, till the year 1580, that it was enacted (by that ſame General Aſſembly which Condemned Epiſcopacy,) *That all Paſtors or Miniſters ſhould Diligently travel with their Flocks to conveen unto Sermon, after noon, on* Sunday; *Both they that are in Landward, and in Burgh, as they will anſwer unto God.* (s) The whole Kingdom knows,

(r) Spot. 108.

(s) MS. *Lectures* Pet. 404.

Lectures before the *forenoons* Sermon, were not introduced, till the days of the *Covenant* and *Directory*; Yet, now, a mighty *ſtreſs* is laid upon them, and I my ſelf have been told, that they were *one good Reaſon for forſaking the Epiſcopal Communion*, where they were not uſed, and *going over to the Presbyterians*, where they were to be had. I am not to condemn a diligent inſtruction of the People: But to ſpeak freely, I am very much perſwaded the Method of our Reformers, in having but *one Sermon*, and *Catechiſing*, after noon, was every way as effectual for Inſtructing the People in the ſubſtantial knowledge of our Holy Religion, and preſſing the practice of it, as any method has been in uſe ſince; Much more might be ſaid on this ſubject; But from what I have ſaid, 'tis plain there is a great *Diſſimilitude* between our *Modern* Presbyterian and our *Reformers* even in this point; and that is enough for my purpoſe.

4. They have as little ſtuck by the Pattern of our Reformers in the Office of *Praiſe*: Our Reformers, beſide the *Pſalms of David* had, and uſed, ſeveral other *Hymns* in *Metre*: They had the *Ten Commandments*, *the Lords Prayer*, *the Creed*, Veni Creator, *the humble ſuit of a ſinner*, *the Lamentation of a ſinner*, *the Complaint of a ſinner*, *the* Magnificat, *the* Nunc Dimittis, *&c.* They never uſed to conclude their Pſalms without ſome *Chriſtian Doxology*: The *Gloria Patri* was moſt generally uſed: In the old *Pſalm Book*, it is turn'd into all the different kinds of

of *Meaſures*, into which the Pſalms of *David* are put, that it might ſtill ſucceed, in the concluſion, without changing the *Tune*: It was ſo generally uſed, that, (as Doctor *Burnet* in his *Second Conference*, (*t*) tells us) even a *Presbyterian General took it in very ill part, when it begun to be diſuſed*: Yet, now, 1682. nothing in uſe, with our preſent Presbyterians but the *Pſalms of David*; and theſe too, for the moſt part, without *Diſcrimination*. The *Gloria Patri*, recovered from *Deſuetude*, at the laſt *Reſtitution* of *Epiſcopacy*, and generally uſed in the Epiſcopal Aſſemblies, theſe *thirty years* paſt, was a Mighty *Scandal* to them; So great, that even ſuch as came to Church, *hang'd* their *Heads* and ſate *ſilent*, generally, when it came to that *part* of the *Office*.

(*t*) Edit. Glaſg. p.

Having mentioned Doctor *Burnet*'s *Conferences*, I will tranſcribe his whole *Period*, becauſe ſome other things than the *Gloria Patri* are concerned in it. *When ſome Deſigners* (ſays he) *for popularity in the* Weſtern *Parts of that* Kirk *did begin to diſuſe the* Lord Prayer *in worſhip, and the ſinging the concluſion or* Doxologie *after the* Pſalm, *and the* Miniſters kneeling *for Private Devotion, when he entered the Pulpit, the General Aſſembly took this in very ill part; And, in the Letter they wrote to the Presbyteries, complained ſadly of a* Spirit *of* Innovation *was beginning to get into the* Kirk, *and to throw theſe* Laudible practices *out of it, mentioning the* three *I named which are commanded ſtill to be practiced, and ſuch as refuſed*

Obedience, are appointed to be conferred with, in order to the giving of them ſatisfaction; And if they continued untractable, the Presbyteries were to proceed againſt them as they ſhould be anſwerable to the next General Aſſembly. Thus he; and this Letter, he ſaid, he could produce, *Authentically Atteſted:* I doubt not, he found it amongſt his Uncle *Wariſtown*'s Papers, who was *Scribe* to the *Rampant* Aſſemblies from the year 1638, and downward. I wiſh the *Doctor* had been at pains to have publiſhed more of them; If he had imployed himſelf that way, I am apt to think he had done his Native Countrey better ſervice, than he has done her Siſter Kingdom by publiſhing *Paſtoral Letters* to be uſed, he knows how; But even from what he has given us, We may ſee how much the *diſuſing* of the *Lords Prayer*, and the *Doxologie* is a *late Innovation*, as well as a *Receſſion* from the Pattern of our Reformers. And as for the decent and *Laudable* cuſtom of *kneeling for private Devotion*, uſed by the Miniſter when he entered the Pulpit; It may be reckoned

5. Another Presbyterian *late Receſſion*. It is certain it was uſed by our Reformers; It is as certain, it continued in uſe, till after both *Covenants* were ſworn; The *National* I mean, and the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*; It was not turn'd *Authoritatively* (I intend no more than the *Equivocal Authority* which *Schiſmatical* Aſſemblies pretend to) into diſuſe till the General Aſſembly 1645. Even, then,

then, it was not Condemned as either *ſuperſtitious* or *indecent*; It was laid aſide, only, in complyance with the *Engliſh* Presbyterians. By that Aſſembly, a Committee was appointed, to give their opinion, about *keeping a greater Uniformity in this Kirk, in the practice and obſervation of the* Directory, *in ſome points of publick worſhip*: And the fourth Article to which they Agreed, was this, word for word, *It is alſo the Judgment of the Committee, that the Miniſters* bowing in the Pulpit, *tho' a* Lawful *Cuſtome in this* Kirk, *be, hereafter, laid aſide, for ſatisfaction of the deſires of the Reverend* Divines *in the* Synod *of* England, *and Uniformity with that* Kirk *ſo much endeared to us.* And then followeth the Aſſembly's approbation of all the Articles digeſted by the Committee. Here, 'tis evident this Aſſembly own'd it to be a *Lawful Cuſtome*: A former Aſſembly called it *Laudible.* And yet it is *Scandalous* if not *Superſtitions* to our preſent Presbyterians. Let me add as ane Appendage to this,

6. Another (in my opinion) very *decent*; and commendable *Cuſtome*, which obtain'd in *Scotland*, generally, till the latter times of Presbytery. This, when People entered the Church, they commonly *uncovered* their *Heads*, as entering into the *Houſe* of *God*; And generally they put up a ſhort *Prayer* to *God* (ſome *kneeling*, ſome *ſtanding*, as their conveniency allowed them) deeming it very becoming to do ſo, when they came thus into the place of Gods *ſpecial preſence* and his

his *publick worſhip*. This cuſtom was ſo univerſal, that the *veſtiges* of it may be, even yet, obſerved amongſt old People, educated before the *Donatiſm* of the *Covenant*, who continue to retain it; Now adays, 'tis plain *Superſtition* to a Presbyterian, not to enter the Church, with his *Head covered*. *Mas John* himſelf doth it as *mannerly* as the courſeſt *Cobbler* in the Pariſh. In he ſteps, *uncovers* not till in the Pulpit, claps ſtreight on his *Breech*, and within a little falls to work as the *Spirit moves* him. All the Congregation muſt ſit *cloſe* in the time of *Prayer*; Clap on their *Bonnets* in the time of *Sermon*, *&c.* This is the way; and it brings me in mind of ane *obſerve*, ane old Gentleman has frequently repeated to me, which was, that he found it *impoſſible to perform Divine worſhip without Ceremonies*; *For* (ſaid he) *the Presbyterians themſelves, who pretend to be againſt all Ceremonies, ſeem, even to Superſtition, preciſe, in obſerving the Ceremonies of the Breech*, &c. But—

Thus I have repreſented, in ſome inſtances, how our Presbyterian Brethren have deſerted our Reformers in the ordinary *ſtated* parts of *publick worſhip*. I proceed now to the *Sacraments*.

7. Then, our Reformers had not only a *ſet form* for Adminiſtring the Sacrament of *Baptiſm*; But, beſide the *Father* of the Child, they allowed of *Sureties* or *Sponſors*. This is plain from the concluſion of the diſcourſe concerning the nature and neceſſity of

of Baptiſm, in the *old Liturgy*; For, the Miniſter, there, addreſſed to the *Father* and the *Sponſors*, thus; *Finally to the intent that we may be aſſured that you the* Father *and the* Sureties, *conſent to the performance hereof* (of the conditions mentioned before) *Declare, here, before the Face of this* Congregation, *the ſum of that Faith wherein you believe, and will inſtruct this* Child. After this there is this Rubrick; *Then the* Father, *or, in his abſence, the* God-Father, *ſhall rehearſe the* Articles *of his Faith, which done, the Miniſter expoundeth the ſame as followeth.* That which followeth is, a large explanation of the *Apoſtles Creed, &c.* Thus it was appointed in the *old Liturgie*; and thus it was *practiced* Univerſally for ſome *ſcores* of years.

But our *Modern* Presbyterians do not only abhor all Set-forms, as I have ſaid, but, to name *Sponſors* or *Godfathers*, to them is to incur the *Scandal* of *Popery*. The *Apoſtles Creed* is no agreeable Standard of the *Chriſtian Faith*, into which *one* is *initiated* by *Baptiſm*. They cannot endure to hear of it, in this *Office*. Whoſo preſents a Child to them to be Baptized, muſt promiſe to bring up the Child in the *Faith*, as it is contained in the *Weſtminſter Confeſſion*, and *the larger and ſhorter Catechiſms*. This they Require Generally: Not a few *Require* that the Child be educated in the *Faith* of the *Solemn League and Covenant*.

7. About the Sacrament of the *Lords Supper*, I find many conſiderable alterations. Take theſe for a Taſte. 1. It

1. It was Adminiſtred by our Reformers, by a *ſet-form*, contained in the *Old Liturgie*: It continued to be ſo Adminiſtred for more than 60 years, by Presbyterians themſelves, as I have obſerved already in the inſtance of *Scrimgeour*.

2. As for the *frequency* of this moſt Chriſtian *Office*; The *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, *Head 9th*, (*v*) Determined thus: *Four times in the year, we think ſufficient, for Adminiſtration of the Lords Table— Albeit we deny not, but every Church for Reaſonable cauſes, may change the time, and Miniſter the ſame, oftner.* The General Aſſembly holden at *Edenburgh, Decemb.* 25. 1562, *Ordained, the Communion to be Miniſtred four times in the year in Burghs, and twice, in Landward*, (*w*) The *Firſt Rubrick* in the *Office* for the *Lords Supper*, in the *Old Liturgy*, intimates it was oftner adminiſtred, for thus it runs; *Upon the day that the Lords Supper is Miniſtred, which commonly is uſed once a Month, or as often as the Congregation ſhall think expedient*, &c.

(*v*) Spot. 169, 170.

(*w*) MS. Pet. 233.

3. Our Reformers had no *preparation Sermons* on the *Saturndays* immediately before the Adminſtration of the *Sacrament*: No veſtige of any *ſuch Sermons* in the *Old Liturgy*, nor in the *Acts* of the *Old* Aſſemblies, not in any of our Hiſtories. It is plain, *ſuch Sermons* were not required by the Authority of any (even Presbyterian) Aſſembly till the year 1645. Then, indeed, amongſt the *Articles* prepared by the *Committee*, mentioned before, I find this the *ſeventh Branch* of

of the *Third Article*, which was about the *Lords Supper*, *That there be one Sermon of Preparation, delivered in the ordinary place of publick worſhip, upon the day immediately preceeding.* And it is clear from the *ſtile* of theſe *Articles* that this was *new*; and had not been practiced, at leaſt generally, before.

4. Our Reformers thought as little on *Thanksgiving Sermons* on the immediately ſucceeding *Moondays*. Indeed ſuch were not required, no not by that *Innovating Aſſembly*, 1645. All it has about *Thanksgiving Sermons*, is in the 8*th Branch* of the aforeſaid *Article*, which is this, *That before the ſerving of the Tables there be only one Sermon delivered to thoſe who are to Communicate, and, that, in the Kirk, where the ſervice is to be performed: And that, in the ſame Kirk, there be* one *Sermon of Thanksgiving, after the Communion is ended.*

5. No *Veſtige* of *Aſſiſtant Miniſters* at the Adminiſtration of this Sacrament, in the practice of our Reformers; So far as I can learn, it was that ſame Aſſembly 1645 which firſt allowed this, alſo, in the *Sixth Branch* of the aforeſaid *Article*, which is this; *That when the Communion is to be Celebrated in a Pariſh, one Miniſter may be imployed for aſſiſting the Miniſter of the Pariſh, or at the moſt two.* Indeed, as our Reformers digeſted the matter, there was no uſe for any; The Miniſter of the Pariſh, was ſufficient, alone, for all the work; for they were careful that it might be no inſupportable task; as, ſure,

it

it ought not to be. They neither made it ſuch as might exhauſt a mans Spirits, nor over-burden his Memory, &c. Particularly,

6. In the time of Celebration, they had no *Exhortations* at all, neither *Extemporary* nor *Premeditated*; But the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline* appointed thus, *During the Action we think it neceſſary that ſome comfortable places of Scripture be Read, which may bring in mind, the Death of the Lord Jeſus, and the benefits of the ſame; For ſeeing, in that Action, we ought Chiefly to Remember the Lords Death; We judge the Scriptures, making mention of the ſame, moſt apt to ſtir up our dull minds, then, and at all times. The Miniſters at their diſcretion may appoint the places to be Read as they think good.* And in the *Old Liturgy*, the *Rubrick* appoints thus; *During which time* (the time the Communicants are at the Table, and participating of the Elements) *ſome place of Scripture is Read, which doth lively ſet forth the Death of Chriſt*, &c. This continued the cuſtom of the whole Church for *more* than *eighty* years, after the Reformation, without any attempts to *Innovate*, till the often mentioned Aſſembly 1645. Then, and not till then, it was Enacted, *That there ſhould be no Reading in the time of Communicating; But, that the Miniſter making a ſhort Exhortation at every Table, thereafter, there ſhould be ſilence, during the time of the Communicants Receiving, except only when the Miniſter ſhould expreſs ſome few ſhort ſentences, ſuitable to the preſent condition of the Com-*

Communicants, in the Receiving, that they might be incited and quickned in their Meditations, in the Action.

7. Our Reformers never ſo much as once dreamed of keeping *Congregational Faſts*, ſome day of the week, before the Celebration of the Sacrament; Nor of ſhutting the doors of all the neighbouring Churches, that day, it was to be Celebrated in any Pariſh Church; Nor of having ſo many Sermons in the *Church-yard* where the *Office* was performed. Indeed, no ſuch cuſtomes entered the thoughts of the very Aſſembly 1645. At leaſt, if they thought on them, it was rather to *Condemn*, than *Approve* them. Nothing at all, indeed, about the *Preparatory Faſt*. But the *other two* are expreſsly diſcharged, or, at leaſt, guarded againſt: For the *ninth Branch* of the Committees *Article* is this, *When the Pariſhioners are ſo Numerous that their Pariſh Kirk cannot contain them, ſo that there is a Neceſſity to keep out ſuch of the Pariſh, as cannot conveniently have place; In that caſe, the Brother, who aſſiſts the Miniſter of the Pariſh, may be ready, if need be, to give a word of Exhortation, in ſome convenient place appointed for that purpoſe, to thoſe of that Pariſh, who, that day, are not to Communicate, which muſt not be begun till the Sermon delivered in the Kirk be concluded.* And the eleventh this, *That the Miniſter who cometh to aſſiſt have a ſpecial care to provide his own Pariſh, leſt, otherwiſe, while he is about to Miniſter comfort to others, his own Flock be left deſtitute of Preaching.*

Thus

Thus the *Eucharist* was Celebrated by our Reformers; and thus, it was *Innovated* by the Presbyterian General Assembly, *Anno* 1645. Well! what is the Method of our *present* Presbyterians? Whether do they keep by the Measures of our Reformers, or their own Assembly 1645? Or have they receded from *both*? I shall give ane account of their Method, as just and faithful as I can, and let the world judge.

The Practice of our present Presbyterians is this. In many places, particularly in the *West*, a *Fast* is kept on some day of the week, before the Sacrament is Celebrated: The Congregation Meets: A *Lecture*, and *two* long *Sermons* are Preached: *Long enough*, *Good enough*; But if they are not *long*, they are *good* for *nothing*. In all Parishes, on *Saturnday*, afternoon, another *long Sermon* in the *Church*, and, in most places, a *long one* too, in the *Church-yard*, Preached by some Neighbour-Brother.

On *Sunday* (the day on which the Communion is given) *six*, *seven*, *eight*, *ten* or *twelve* Ministers, leaving their own Churches empty, that day, and without Divine Service, conveen at the Church where the Sacrament is to be Administred: The People of their Parishes, deprived of the publick worship, at home, resort thither, frequently also. If the Minister who gives the Sacrament, is a *Gracious Man*, a man of renown'd *zeal* for the *good Cause*; most of the *First-Rate* zealots, both *Masculine* and *Feminine*, especially,

eſpecially, the *Females* of the *firſt Magnitude*, the *Ladies*, who live within 6, 10, 16, 20, 30 miles diſtance, muſt be there alſo.

In the morning, pretty early, ſome two or three hours ſooner than ordinary, they fall to work. The Miniſter of the Pariſh himſelf, commonly Preaches a *long long Sermon* in the Church; After ſome two hours and ane half, ſometimes three full hours, ſpent in hard labour (too hard for *ſides* that are not very *ſubſtantial*) He deſcends from the *Pulpit*, to the *Communion Table*, there he has another *long Diſcourſe*, before he Conſecrates the Elements; That done, he *Conſecrates*, not by a *form*, that were highly *ſcandalous* and *unſpiritual*, but, as the *ready Gift* ſerves him. After that, ane *Exhortation*, which wants nothing but the *Formality* of having a *Text* Read, to make it a pretty long *Sermon*. Then the Elements are deſtributed to thoſe who are ſet about the *Table*; and that is called, the *Firſt Table*. Theſe, having participated, ariſe and remove; Others plant themſelves about the *Table*: Sometimes the Pariſh-Miniſter ſerves this *Second Table* alſo; But if he does not, a *freſh Brother* ſucceeds, with another *long Exhortation*; and ſo onward, ſo long as there are People who have not ſate down, at *every Table* (and ſometimes there may be 10, 12, 14 Tables, more or fewer, as it happens) there is a *new* long *Exhortation*, before the *Deſtribution* of the *Elements*; and *ſhorter* ones, in the time the Communicants (who re-

ceive not from the Miniſter, but from one another, ſitting 50, 60, 70, 80, *&c.* about the Table) are *eating and drinking.* After all the *Tables* are ſerved the Miniſter of the Pariſh aſcends the *Pulpit*, again declaims another *long Harangue*, then *Prays*, *&c.* and all this, without *Papers*, from the *Magazine* of his *Memory*, unleſs it be ſometimes ſupplyed from the *ſtores* of the *Extemporary Spirit.* But this is not all.

All this time, the *Sermons* are *thundering* in the *Church-yard*, ſometimes by *pairs* together, if the *Confluence* is *great:* Brother ſucceeds after Brother, and there is Sermon upon Sermon, indeficient *Sermoning*, till the Congregation within the Church is diſſolved, which is not, for the moſt part, till much of the day is ſpent, indeed cannot readily be, conſidering what work there is of it.

The Congregation diſſolved, there is a little breathing time; Then the Bell rings again, and the work is renewed: Some other Brother than the Pariſh Miniſter mounts the Pulpit in the Church, in the afternoon; and Preaches a *Thankſgiving Sermon*, and the reſt are as buſy in the *Church yard* as ever: And then on *Moondays* morning the *Preaching* work is fallen to a freſh and purſued vigorouſly, one *Preaching* in the *Church*, another in the *Church yard*, as formerly. I am ſure I am juſt in all this Account; I could prove it by many inſtances, if it were needful, but I ſhall only name two. Thus, Laſt

Laſt year when this Sacrament was Celebrated at *St. Cuthberts*, where the renown'd Mr. *David Williamſone* Exerciſes, on the *three* dayes, *viz. Saturday*, *Sunday* and *Moonday*, in the *Church* and *Church-yard*, there were no fewer than 12 or 13 *formal Sermons*, beſides all the *Incidental Harrangues*, and all the *Exhortations* at the *Tables*, *&c.* And when the Sacrament was given in the *New Church* in the *Canon-gate* in *September*, or the beginning of *October* 1692, there was much about the ſame number. I my ſelf overheard parts of ſome *three* or *four* which werePreached in the *Church yard*: And that which made me have the *deeper impreſſions* of the unaccountableneſs of this their Method, was, that all who were in the *Church-yard*, on *Sunday*, at leaſt, and *four* times as many, might, that day, have had room enough in the *Churches* of *Edenburgh*, which were at no great diſtance: But, it ſeems, the ſolemnity of *Church-yard Sermons*, is now become neceſſary on ſuch occaſions.

I have narrated nothing in this ſtrange account (I ſay) but what is *Notorious Matter of Fact*: All this *Parade* they have, ordinarily, even in the Countrey; and tho' there are but ſome *ſcores*, or, at moſt, but ſome *hundreds* to Communicate, yet the *Communion* is not *Solemn enough*, there's a *Cloud* upon the Miniſters reputation, ſomething or other is wrong, if there are not ſome *thouſands* of *Spectators*.

I doubt not, when ſtrangers Read this

account, they will think it a very ſurprizing one: And no wonder, for, not to inſiſt how much they have *receded*, not only from the *Rules* and *Practices* of our *Reformers*, but even from the Determinations of their own General Aſſembly 1645; not only receded from them, but, almoſt, in every particular, run quite *Counter* to them: not to inſiſt on what occaſions may be given to much ſcandal, and many wickedneſſes, by ſuch indigeſted, diſorderly, confuſed, and mixt Convocations: For who knows not that *hundreds*, generally, *ſtrangers* to one another, who have no ſenſe of, no concern for, no care about ſerious Religion, may meet, on ſuch occaſions, for Novelty, for Curioſity, for *intrigues* not to be named, for a thouſand ſuch ſiniſter ends? Not to inſiſt on theſe things, I ſay, tho' they are of no ſmall conſequence: What a vaſt difference is there between *ſuch* Communions, and the *Orderly* and *Devout* Communions of the *Primitive Church*? What would the Ancient *Lights* and *Guides* of the Chriſtian Church, who would ſuffer *none* to ſtay in the Church but ſuch as were to *Participate*, ſay, if they ſaw ſuch *promiſcuous Routs* aſſembled, and moſtly, for no other end, than making a *Spectacle* of ſuch a *Venerable Myſtery*? Is not ſuch unaccountable *Parade* much liker to the *Popiſh Proceſſions*, than the *Devout Performances* of the *purer times* of *Genuine Chriſtianity*? How impoſſible were it, at this rate, to Celebrate the Sacrament, *once* a *Month* in

in every Pariſh Church? How much more impoſſible to reſtore it to its *due* and *proper frequency*? How far is this from looking on this Holy Sacrament, as ane *ordinary*, tho' a very *ſignal* part of *Divine worſhip*? Or rather is it not to make a *Prodigie* of this *Divine Myſtery*? Certainly, when People obſerve how ſeldome, and withal, with what *ſtrange Pomp*, with what, ordinarily, impracticable ſolemnity ſuch ane holy ordinance is gone about, it cannot but work differently upon their different diſpoſitions, It ſtands *fair* to be a *Scare-crow* to the *weak* Chriſtian; He dares not *approach*, where there is ſo much *frightening Addreſs*; It ſtands as *fair* for being a *ſcandal* to the *ſtrong* and underſtanding Chriſtian, when he ſees ſo much *vain ſhew*, ſo much *needleſs oſtentation*, ſo much *odd*, *external tricking*, about it; And the *Hypocrite* can hardly *wiſh* any thing more uſeful for him; For who ſhould doubt of *his* being a *Saint*, when he *approaches*, amidſt ſo *much* ſolemnity? Beſides,

Every body may eaſily ſee what is aim'd at by all this; It is, as they think, a proper Method for *catching* the *Populace*; It is to make them *admire* the *Devotion*, the *Religion*, the *Abilities* of the *Party*. How *Glorious* and *Auguſt* are their *Communions*! What *ſingular preparations* have they! How many *Powerful Prayers*! How many *Soul-ſearching Sermons*! Who can compare with them for *fervour* and *zeal*, for *Graces* and *Gifts*, for *ſpeciat marks* of Gods *peculiar favour* and *aſſiſtance*!

Muſt not their *way* be Gods *way!* Muſt not *thoſe* of *their* way be the *true*, the *only People* of *God!* I ask God and my Presbyterian Brethren pardon, if this is not at the bottom of the Matter; But if it is, I wiſh they would conſider from what principles it proceeds; How eaſy is it to diſcern in ſuch *Arts* and *Methods*, the clear *Symptomes*, the lively *Signatures*, of a *Schiſmatical* temper? How eaſy to perceive the plain *features* of *Faction*, and the *Lineaments* of a prepoſterous *Fondneſs* to have their *way* and *party* had in Admiration? How eaſy were it, more fully to expoſe ſuch dangerous and dreadful Methods? But I am affraid I have digreſſed too much already. There is

8. Another very conſiderable inſtance of their Deſerting the principles of our Reformers in the Matter of this Sacrament; Such ane inſtance as may make another *ſtrange Figure*, when ſeriouſly conſidered.

Our *Reformers*, having once Eſtabliſhed the *Confeſſion* of *Faith*, as the *Standard* for this *National* Church, required no more for qualifying private Perſons for the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*, than, that *they could ſay the Lords Prayer, the Articles of the Belief, and the ſumm of the Law, and underſtand the uſe and Vertue of this Holy Sacrament*; So it is expreſsly delivered in the *ninth Head* of the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*. (x) Suppoſing the Perſon free from ſcandal, this was certainly a *Genuine* Meaſure, and agreeable to the *Rules* and *Principles* of *Catholick Unity*. For

(x) Spot. 170.

How-

However expedient it may be, upon ſome Emergent *Occaſions*, or *Neceſſities*, to require ſuitable Obligations of *Office-bearers* in the *Church*, yet, no man, I think, who loves *Chriſtian Simplicity* and *Unity*, but will acknowledge, 'tis *proper* and *prudent*, to *make* the *terms* of *Communion* as *Catholick* and *Comprehenſive*, as *Chriſts inſtitutions* will allow them to be *made*. Now, not to inſiſt on our Brethrens *ſeparating*, from the *Communion* of *thoſe*, who *keep* by the *terms* of Communion required by our *Reformers*, whereby they expreſsly *Condemn* the Communion of our Reformers: not to inſiſt on this, I ſay, tho' it might be more than enough, to prove their *Receſſion* from the principles of our Reformers, in this Matter:

Our Presbyterian Brethren are bound by ane *Expreſs Act* of the *General Aſſembly* 1648, not to give the Sacrament of the *Lords Supper* to any who do not, firſt, *ſwear* the *Solemn League and Covenant*. The occaſion was this.

In the beginning of that year 1648; moſt part of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland* having come to a ſenſe of the Miſeries and Calamities, the Kingdomes had been involved in, by the *horrid Rebellion*, which had, then, prevail'd, too long, and too ſucceſsfully; and willing to acquit themſelves, for *once*, as dutiful ſubjects, for the relief of their ſuffering Soveraign, at that time, moſt ſadly oppreſs'd, and kept in priſon, by a prevailing party of his

moſt undutiful ſubjects, entered into a moſt *Dutiful Confederacy*, commonly called *Duke Hamiltons Engagement*; by the Presbyterians, *the Unlawful Engagement*: And in purſuance thereof, made ſuitable preparations, provided Arms, levied men, *&c.* to form an Army. The Presbyterian Preachers were generally againſt it; Preached and Prayed *Damnation* and *Ruine* to the *undertakers*, Condemn'd the *undertaking* as Unlawful and Perjurious, as Traiterous to the *Cauſe* of God, and a *Breach* of *Solemn League and Covenant*, and what not? Particularly,

The *Presbytery* of *Edenburg*, the leading Presbytery, the Presbytery which ſate upon the *Watch-Tower*, of the Nation, ſhewed, I muſt ſay, *Remarkable*, tho' I cannot ſay, *Good* Example to the *Reſt* of the *Presbyteries*, in the Months of *May* and *June*; They rack't their inventions for falling on methods to cruſh and diſappoint the Deſigns of the *Engagers*. For inſtance, they ſet on foot this Politick in the Reſpective Pariſhes, within their *Diſtrict*, that the *Miniſters* and *Kirk-Seſſions* ſhould form *ſupplications* againſt the *Engagement*, and give them in to the *Presbytery*, who were to give them in to the *Committee* of *Eſtates*, and thereby, to repreſent to them how much their undertaking was *contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People*. The Device took effect in ſome Pariſhes: The *Kirk-Seſſions* of *Edenburgh*, *Holy-Rude-chouſe*, *Duddingſtown*, *Liberton*, *Ruthe*, *Curry*, *Cramond*, gave in their ſupplications,

plications, declaring that they could not be *ſatisfyed in their Conſciences* about the *Lawfulneſs* of the *Engagement*. I have inſtanced in the forwardneſs of the *Presbytery* of *Edenburgh*, to give my Reader a Taſte of the humour of theſe times; nor is it to be imagined that others were aſleep, while they were ſo diligent.

The General Aſſembly met on the *twelfth* of *July*, they juſtifyed the endeavours and diligence uſed before, againſt the *Engagement*, with a witneſs: They approved all the Declarations, Remonſtrances, Repreſentations, Petitions, *&c.* againſt it, which had been made by the *Commiſſion of the Kirk*: They Declared there was no poſſibility of ſecuring Religion, ſo long as this Unlawful Engagement was carried on. They made *Acts and Declarations againſt Acts of Parliament*; and Threatned all who ſhould Obey them, with the wrath of God and the *Cenſures* of the *Kirk*: They gave out their *publick warnings* againſt it, and wrote to their *Covenanted Brethren* in *England*, ſhewing their utter abhorrence of it: They made their Act Declaring *ſilence* about it, a *Crime*, and requiring all Miniſters to make *the main current of their Applications in Sermons againſt it, under the pain of being Cenſured by their Presbyteries*. And to ſhew their ſincerity and real zeal in all this, and for preventing all ſuch ungodly *Engagements*, for the time to come, *&c.* They made this Act, *That hereafter all Perſons, whatſoever, ſhould take the Covenant, at*

their

their firſt Receiving of the Lords Supper, requiring Provincial Aſſembly's and Presbyteries to be careful, that this Act ſhould be obſerved, and account thereof taken, in the viſitation of particular Kirks, and the tryal of Presbyteries. If this was not to *ſtreighten* Chriſtian Communion, if this was not to impoſe *ſtrange terms*, on all who deſired this Holy Sacrament, let the world judge: And it is very well known that for ſome years thereafter this Act was obſerved. Perhaps it were no difficult task to give ane account of many ſtrange things which happened in purſuance of this Act: But I ſhall content my ſelf at preſent with one inſtance.

In purſuance of the *Politick*, of the *Presbytery* of *Edenburg*, mention'd before, the Miniſters of *South Leith*, propoſed, to that *Kirk-Seſſion*, the overture of *ſupplicating*, againſt the *Engagement*. The Plurality of the Elders rejected it: This was in *May* or *June*; The *Engagement*, as every body knows, was unſucceſsful; The Army was *Routed* at *Preſton*, *&c.* and the *Kirk* had opportunity to be avenged of *Malignants*. The *Presbytery* of *Edenburgh*, therefore, on the *ſixth* of *December*, that ſame year, kept a *Viſitation* at the Church of *South Leith*; they made diligent Enquiry, who of the *Elders*, refuſed to *ſupplicate* againſt the *Engagement*; They *Depoſed* them from their Office, and they ordered the Miniſters to go about ane Election of a *New Seſſion*. But this was not all.

Upon

Upon the 8th of *December*, they met again, to digeſt a Method for *Renewing* the *Covenant*, in obedience to the Aſſemblies *Act*; and particularly, they Ordained *that ſuch Seducers as diſſwaded others from petitioning againſt the Engagement ſhould be debarred from the* COVENANT. Nay upon the 24th of *January* 164$\frac{8}{9}$ it was ordered, particularly, *That thoſe in South Leith who had acceſſion to the Paper drawn in Captain* Ramſey's *houſe*, (which Paper, ſo far as one can Conjecture, from the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes about it, was nothing but ane Apologetick, for their not ſupplicating) *as alſo thoſe who were ſent from the Corporations* (the Town, as I think, is divided into four Corporations) *to the Miniſters and Seſſion, to deſire them to forbear ſupplicating, againſt the Engagement, ſhould make publick acknowledgement of their Offence, before they ſhould have permiſſion to take the Covenant*: So that at laſt, as is obvious, the matter reſulted in this: The *Elders* of *South Leith*, and *thoſe* who came from the *Corporations* to the *Seſſion* to *Diſſwade* from *ſupplicating*, could not have the *Sacrament* without firſt taking the *Covenant*; and they could not have the *Benefit* of the *Covenant* (as it was then Deem'd) till they ſhould make *publick acknowledgement* of the Heinous *Guilt* of *not ſupplicating*, and, as *Seducers*, *Diſſwading others* from *ſupplicating*, againſt the *Unlawful Engagement*. For the Truth of this I Appeal to the *Faith* of the *publick Regiſter* of that *Preſbytery*.

I know,

I know, our Presbyterian Brethren will be ready to ſay, that this was only a *Deed* of the particular *Presbytery* of *Edenburgh*, ſo that, if there was any thing amiſs in it, it ought not to be imputed to the whole party: If this be ſaid, I have theſe things to reply; 1. What did the Presbytery herein that was not in purſuance of the *publick Spirit* of the times, and the Acts of the General Aſſembly? But then 2. as extravagant as the *Presbytery* of *Edenburgh* was in this matter, They came not up, it ſeems, to the full *Meaſures* of *Rigiditie*, which the *Spirit* of the *Aſſembly*, required: For whoſo pleaſes to turn over, in the *Regiſter*, to the 31ſt of *January* 164½, ſhall find that the *Commiſſion of the Kirk* (the *Authentick Vehicle* of the *publick Spirit* of the *Kirk*, during the Interval between Aſſemblies) wrote a Letter to the *Presbytery*, *Requiring greater accuracy in the Tryal of Malignants, and admitting People to the Renovation of the Covenant, prohibiting Kirk-Seſſions to meddle in ſuch Matters, and Ordering all to be done by the Presbyteries themſelves; Except very difficult Caſes, which were to be referr'd to the Commiſſion of the Kirk.* And to ſecure this ſide alſo, let him turn over to the *Acts* of the *General Aſſembly*, *Anno* 1649, and he ſhall find *Firſt Act* Intituled, *Approbation of the proceedings of the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly*; by which Act that Aſſembly (Acted by that *ſame Spirit*, with the former) found that the *Commiſſioners* appointed, *Anno* 1648. *had been zealous, diligent*

diligent and faithful in the diſcharge of the truſt committed to them, and therefore did unanimouſly Approve and Ratify the whole Proceedings, Acts, and Concluſions of the ſaid Commiſſion; Appointing Mr. John Bell, *Moderator* pro tempore, *to return them hearty thanks, in the name of the Aſſembly, for their great pains, travel, and fidelity.*

If it be ſaid, farther, that our *preſent Presbyterians* require not, now, that condition of taking the *Covenant* of thoſe, they admit to the *Sacrament*: I reply, 1. do not the *Cameronians*, who, in all *true Logick*, are to be reputed the *Trueſt* Presbyterians obſerve it punctually?

2. How can our preſent *Regnant* Presbyterians juſtify their *Omiſſion* of it? By their own principles the Act binds them; for it ſtands as yet unrepealed by any ſubſequent General Aſſembly: By the common principles of Reaſon they are bound, either to obey that Act or Reprobate the Aſſembly which made it. This I am ſure of, they can neither plead the *Diſſuetude* of that Act, nor any *Peculiarity* in the Reaſon of it, for their neglecting it, more, than many other Acts which they own ſtill to be in vigour: But I am affraid my Reader has too much of this.

Thus I have ſhewed, in part, how much our Presbyterian Brethren have Deſerted the *Rules* and *Rites* of our Reformers about the Sacraments, proceed we now to other *Liturgical Offices.*

8. Then,

8. Then, our Reformers not only appointed a *form* for the Celebration of *Marriage*, (to be ſeen in the *Old Liturgy*) but in that *Form* ſome things agree word for word with the *Engliſh Form*; Particularly, *the charge to the Perſons to be Marryed to Declare if they know any impediment*, &c. A *Solemn Bleſſing* was alſo appointed, to be pronounced on the Married Perſons; and after that the 128 Pſalm to be ſung, *&c.* Beſides it was expreſsly appointed, by the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, *that Marriages ſhould be only Solemnized on Sunday, in the forenoon, after Sermon*, Cap. 9. (y) And this was ſo Univerſally obſerved, that the Introduction of *Marrying*, on *other days*, is remarkable: For it was propoſed to the General Aſſembly, holden at *Edenburg, July* 7. *Anno* 1579, as a *doubt, whither it was Lawful to Marry on week days, a ſufficient number being preſent, and joyning Preaching thereunto?* and the General Aſſembly Reſolved *It was Lawful.* (z) But

(y) Spot. 169.

(z) MS. Per. 400.

Our preſent Presbyterians, if I miſtake not, make it rather a *Doubt*, whither it be *Lawful* to *Marry* on *Sunday*: Sure I am, it is inconſiſtent with their principles to do it by a *Form*: As ſure I am, tho' they were for a *Form* they could not well digeſt the *Form* of our *Reformers*; which *ſmell'd* ſo *rankly* of the *Engliſh Corruptions*: I know not if they uſe, ſolemnly, to *Bleſs* the *Married Pair*: If they do it not, I know they have Deſerted their own *Second Book of Diſcipline*. I think they will not deny but the ſinging of the

the 128 *Pſalm* in the Church, immediately after the Perſons are Married, is out of faſhion, with them.

9. They have alſo forſaken our Reformers in the *Burial of the Dead*: 'Tis true, indeed, the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline* ſeems to be againſt *Funeral Sermons*, neither doth it frankly allow of *Reading* ſuitable portions of Scripture, and ſinging Pſalms at *Burials*; Yet it was far from Condemning theſe Offices: *We are not ſo preciſe in this* (ſay the Compilers) *but that we are content that particular Churches, with Conſent of the Miniſter, do that, which they ſhall find moſt fitting, as they will Anſwer to God, and the Aſſembly of the Univerſal Church, within this Realm.* (a) But the *Old Liturgy*, which was Authorized by *two General Aſſemblies* (which the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline* could never pretend to) has not only a *Form for viſiting the Sick* (not obſerved, I am ſure, by our preſent Presbyterians) but expreſsly allows of Funeral Sermons. Theſe are its very words about *Burial*. *The Corps ſhall be Reverently brought to the Grave, accompanyed with the Congregation, without any further Ceremonies; which being Buried, the Miniſter, if he be preſent, and required, goeth to the Church, if it be not too far off, and maketh ſome Comfortable Exhortation to the People, touching Death, and the Reſurrection; Then Bleſſeth the People, and diſmiſſeth them.* To our preſent Presbyterians, *Funeral Sermons* are as the *worſhipping* of *Reliques*; They are every whit as ill as *Praying for the Dead*, and the

(a) Spot. 173.

the Doctrine of *Purgatory*. One thing more I ſhall take notice of in the *Old Liturgy*. It is

10. The *Form and Order of the Election of the Superintendent, which may ſerve, in Election of all other Miniſters.* I ſhall not repeat what I have already obſerved as to this point, concerning our Presbyterians Condemning the Office of Superintendents; and their forſaking our Reformers, as to the Ceremony of *impoſition of hands*, in Ordinations; a point wherein our Reformers, I confeſs, were ſomewhat unaccountable. That which I take notice of now, is, that that *Form* continued, at leaſt, for *ſixty* years, to be uſed in Ordinations: Particularly it was in uſe, even with the *Parity-men*, *Anno* 1618, as is evident from *Calderwood*, *(b)* and it was inſiſted on by them, then, as a *Form*, which was to be reputed ſo venerable, and of ſuch weight, that any *Receſſion* from it, was ane *intollerable innovation*: And yet I refer it to our preſent Presbyterians themſelves, if they can ſay that they have not intirely Deſerted it. Becauſe the Deſignation of the Perſon to be Ordained is *Prior* in order of nature to his Ordination; I ſhall add as ane *Appendage* to this Head, the *Diſcrepance* between our *Reformers* and our *preſent Presbyterians*, about *Patronages* and *Popular Elections* of Miniſters.

(*b*) Cal: 712.

Our preſent Presbyterians, every body knows, are zealous for the *Divine Right* of *Popular Elections*: The *Power* of Chooſing their

their own Miniſters, *The Perſons who are to have the charge of their Souls*, is a *Privilege* which *Chriſt*, by his *Teſtament*, hath *Bequeathed* to his *People*: It is his *Legacy* to them; ane *unalienable part* of their *Spiritual Property*; It cannot be taken from them without a *Direct croſſing of Chriſts inſtitution*, and the horrid *ſin* of *Robbing* his People of their *indiſputable* Priviledge. *Patronages* are ane *Intollerable Grievance, and Yoak of Bondage on the Church: They have been always the cauſe of Peſtering the Church with a bad Miniſtery; They came in amongſt the lateſt Anti-Chriſtian Corruptions and Uſurpations*, &c. This is their Doctrine, tho', 'tis obious to all the world, they put ſtrange Comments on it by their Practice: Well! What were the ſentiments of our Reformers in this Matter?

The *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, indeed, affirms *(Head 4.) That it appertaineth to the People and to every ſeveral Congregation to Elect their own Miniſter*: But it has not ſo much as one ſyllable of the *Divine inſtitution* of ſuch a *Priviledge*: On the contrary, in that ſame very breath, it adds, *and in caſe they be found negligent therein, the ſpace of 40 days, the Superintendent with his Council may preſent a Man*, &c. If this Man after tryal is found qualified, and the Church can juſtly reprehend nothing in his Life, Doctrine or Utterance, then, *We judge* (ſay our Reformers) *the Church, which, before, was deſtitute, unreaſonable, if they refuſe him, whom the Church*

 doth

doth offer; And that they ſhould be compelled, by the Cenſure of the Council, and Church, to receive the Perſon appointed and approved by the Judgment of the Godly and Learned; unleſs that the ſame Church hath preſented a Man better, or as well, Qualified, to Examination, before that the aforeſaid tryal was taken of the Perſon, preſented by the Council of the whole Church. As for Example, the Council of the Church preſents a Man unto a Church to be their Miniſter, not knowing that they are otherwiſe provided; In the mean time, the Church hath another ſufficient, in their judgement, for that charge, whom they preſent to the Learned Miniſters, and next Reformed Church to be examined: In this caſe, the preſentation of the People to whom he ſhould be appointed Paſtor, muſt be preferred to the preſentation of the Council or greater Church, unleſs the Perſon preſented by the inferiour Church be judged unable for the Regiment, by the Learned. For this is always to be avoided, that no man be intruded or thruſt in upon any Congregation. But this Liberty, with all care, muſt be reſerved for every ſeveral Church, to have their voices and ſuffrages in Election of their Miniſters; Yet we do not call that violent intruſion, when the Council of the Church, in the fear of God, regarding only the ſalvation of the People, offereth unto them, a man ſufficient to inſtruct them, whom they ſhall not be forced to admit before juſt Examination. So that Book. Add to this, this conſideration, That at that time the *Popiſh Clergy* were in poſſeſſion of all the Benefices; the Reformed Clergy had not, then, ſo much

as

as the proſpect of the *Thirds*, which I have diſcourſed of, before: Theſe things laid together, 'tis obvious to perceive, 1. That it was only from *Prudential Conſiderations*, our Reformers were inclined to give the *People* ſo much *Power* at that time; It was much for the *Conveniency* of the Miniſters, who were to *live* by the *Benevolence* of the Pariſh, *&c.* They did not grant them this *Power*, as of *Divine Right*; No ſuch thing ſo much as once inſinuated, as I have ſaid; 'Twas plainly nothing but a *Liberty*. And no injury, no *violence* was done to a Pariſh, even in theſe circumſtances of the Church, when the *Council* of the *Church* gave them a Miniſter without their *own Election*. 'Tis as plain, 2. that (ſo far as can be collected from the whole Period above) our Reformers (the Compilers of the Book I mean) abſtracting from the, then, circumſtances of the Church were more inclined, that the *Election* of Miniſters ſhould be in the hands of the *Clergy*, than of the *People*; Which I am much inclined to think was not only, then, but a long time after, the prevailing ſentiment; And all the world ſees, I am ſure, it was a ſentiment utterly inconſiſtent with the opinion of the *Divine Right* of *Popular Elections*.

I have been at pains to ſet the *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, thus in its due light, that our Brethren may not complain, it was neglected, not that my Cauſe required it; For that *Book* was never *Law*, either *Civil* or

Eccleſiaſtical, and ſo I might fairly have omitted it. Let us try next what were truly the *publick* and *Authoritative ſentiments* of our *Reformers*.

The firſt which I find of that nature, is the ſentiment of the *General Aſſembly*, holden in *September* 1565. The *General Aſſembly* holden in *June* immediately before, had complained, that *ſome vacant Benefices had been beſtowed by the Queen, on ſome Noblemen and Barons.* (c) The Queen anſwered, *She thought it not Reaſonable to deprive her of the Patronages belonging to her:* And this General Aſſembly in *September* anſwer thus: *Our mind is not that her Majeſty, or any other Perſon, ſhould be defrauded of their juſt Patronages, but we mean, whenſoever her Majeſty, or any other Patron, do preſent any Perſon, unto a Benefice, that the Perſon preſented ſhould be tryed and examined, by the judgement of Learned Men of the Church; Such as are, for the preſent, the Superintendents: And as the preſentation of the Benefice belongs to the Patron, ſo the Collation, by Law and Reaſon, belongeth to the Church.* (d) Agreeably, we find, by the 7 *Act* 1 *Parl. Jac.* 6. *Anno* 1567. (The Parliament holden by *Murray* Regent) It was enacted (in purſuance (no doubt) of the *Agreement* between the Nobility and Barons, and the Clergy in the General Aſſembly, holden in *July* that year) *That the Patron ſhould preſent a qualified Perſon, within ſix Months, to the Superintendent of theſe parts, where the Benefice lyes,* &c. And by the *Agreement* at *Leith*, *Anno* 1572,

(c) MS. Pet. 342.

(d) MS. Pet. 344. Spot. 193.

1572, the Right of *Patronages* was reſerved to the *Reſpective Patrons.* (e) And by the *General Aſſembly* holden in *March* 1574, it was enacted *that collations upon preſentations to Benefices ſhould not be given without conſent of three qualified Miniſters*, &c. (f) The *General Aſſembly* in *Auguſt* that ſame year, ſupplicated the Regent *that Biſhops might be preſented to vacant Biſhopricks*, as I have obſerved before. By the *General Aſſembly* holden in *October* 1578, It was enacted, *that preſentations to benefices be directed to the Commiſſioners of the Countreys where the Benefice lyes.* (g)

(e) Cald. 52.

(f) Cald. 66.

(g) MS.

'Tis true, indeed, the *Second Book of Diſcipline*, *Cap.* 12. §. 10. Condemns *Patronages, as having no ground in the word of God; as contrary to the ſame; and as contrary to the Liberty of Election of Paſtors, and that which ought not to have place in the Light of Reformation.* (h) But then 'tis as true; 1. That that ſame *General Aſſembly*, holden in *April* 1581, which firſt *Ratified* this *Second Book of Diſcipline*, Statuted and Ordained, *That Laick Patronages ſhould remain whole unjoynted, and undivided, unleſs with conſent of the Patron.* (i) So that, let them, who can, reconcile the Acts of this Presbyterian Aſſembly. For to my skill (which I confeſs is not very great) it ſeems, as we uſe to ſay, to have both *burnt* and *blown* Patronages; *blown* them by this Act, and *burnt* them by Ratifying the *Book* which *Condemn'd* them. But whatever is of this, that which I obſerve 2. is

Pet. 236. Cald. 84.

(h) MS. Spor. 301. Cald. 114.

(i) MS. Pet. 410. Cald. 99.

far more conſiderable; For tho' the *Book* Condemned *Patronages*, yet our Presbyterian Brethren, of the *Modern Cut*, have no great advantage by it, for it had nothing leſs in its proſpect, than to Condemn them, for making way for *Popular Elections*. Indeed it gave no countenance to ſuch Elections, far leſs did it ſuppoſe or aſſert them to be of *Divine Right*. This is its Determination in the 9*th* § of that 12. *Cap. The Liberty of Electing Perſons to Eccleſiaſtical Functions, obſerved without interruptions, ſo long as the Church was not corrupted by Anti-Chriſt, we deſire to be reſtored and retained within this Realm; So as none be intruded upon any Congregation, either by the Prince, or any other inferior Perſon,* WITHOUT LAWFUL ELECTION, *and* THE ASSENT OF THE PEOPLE, *over whom the Perſon is placed, according to the Practice of the Apoſtolick and Primitive Church.* Now, 1. conſidering that it was the common talk, of the Presbyterians, of theſe times, that *Antichriſtian Corruptions*, began ſo *peſter* the Church, ſo ſoon as *Epiſcopacy* was introduced, It is clear, that that which they call the *Uninterrupted Practice of the Church*, muſt have deſcended, according to themſelves but for a very *few years*: and I ſhall own my ſelf their humble ſervant, if our preſent Presbyterians ſhall prove that *Popular Elections* were in *Univerſal uninterrupted Practice*, during that interval, of their own making; the interval, I mean which they make between the Apoſtles times, and the

firſt Introduction of Epiſcopacy. Indeed, 2. the *Book* plainly *diſtinguiſhes* between LAWFUL ELECTION, and THE ASSENT OF THE PEOPLE, and all the world knows they are naturally *diſtinguiſhable*; and whoſoever knows any thing of the Monuments of theſe Primitive times, knows they were *actually diſtinguiſhed*; and that all the *Peoples* Priviledge was to ASSENT, not, to ELECT; They were not in uſe of *Electing*, if I miſtake not, till towards the end of the *third Century*: So that, if we can believe the *Compilers* of the *Book*; if they were for reſtoring the *Primitive Practice*; 'tis eaſy to underſtand that they meant no ſuch thing as to reſtore *Popular Elections*. Eſpecially, if 3. it be conſidered that we have one very Authentick Explication of this 9*th* Article of the 12. *Cap.* of the *Second Book of Diſcipline*, handed down to us by *Calderwood* himſelf. (*k*) The ſtory is this. (*k*) Cald. 383.

King *James* the *Sixth*, continually vext with the Turbulency of the Presbyterian temper, cauſed publiſh 55 *Queſtions*, and propoſed them to be *ſifted*, thinking that clear and diſtinct Reſolutions of them, might contribute much for ending many Controverſies, agitated, in thoſe times, between the *Kirk* and the *Crown*. They were publiſhed in *February*, or *January* 159$\frac{8}{9}$. They are to be ſeen both in *Spotſwoods* (*l*) and *Calderwoods* Hiſtories. I am only concerned, at preſent, for the *third Queſtion*, which was this, *Is not the Conſent* (*l*) Spot. 434. Cald. 382.

of the moſt part of the Flock, and alſo of the Patrons neceſſary in the Election of Paſtors? Now, *Calderwood* ſays, *that there were Brethren delegated from every Presbytery of* Fife, *who met at* St. Andrews *upon the* 21. *of* February, *and, having toſſed the Kings Queſtions, ſundrie days,* gave Anſwers to every one of them, particularly, to the *third*, this was their Anſwer, *The Election of Paſtors ſhould be made by thoſe, who are Paſtors, and Doctors Lawfully called, and who can try the Gifts, neceſſarily belonging to Paſtors, by the word of God: And to ſuch as are ſo choſen, the Flock and Patron ſhould give their Conſent and Protection.* (*m*) Now this, I ſay, is a very *Authentick* Explication of the words of the *Book*, for theſe Delegates Meeting at *St. Andrews*, it is not to be doubted, but Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, at that time, *principal* of the *New College*, was with them, probably they met, in that *City*, that he might be with them; for ſure I am, it was not otherwiſe the moſt convenient place of the County for their Meeting: And having him with them, they had *one*, than whom, *none* on earth was capable of giving a more *Authentick Senſe* of the words of the *Book*.

(*m*) Cald. 383.

It were very eaſy to adduce more Acts of General Aſſemblies to this purpoſe: But I am affraid I have inſiſted too much on this ſubject already: In ſhort then, the *Groundleſs Fancy* of the *Divine Right* of *Popular Elections*, is more properly ane *Independent* than a *Presbyterian* principle. The *Engliſh Presbyterians* of the *Provincial* Aſſembly of *London*, wrote zealouſly

zealouſly againſt it, in their *Jus Divinum Miniſterii Evangelici*: It is truly inconſiſtent with the *Old* Presbyterian *Scheme*; It obtain'd not generally amongſt our *Scottiſh* Presbyterians till ſome years after 1638. It was not adopted into their *Scheme* till the *General Aſſembly* 1649. *Patronages* were never taken away by *Act* of Parliament till of late, *i. e.* in the year 1690. 'Tis true *G. R.* in his *True Rrepreſentation of Presbyterian Government*, (*n*) ſays, *they were taken away by Law*, meaning, no doubt, by the Act of the pretended Parliament, *Anno* 1649. But he had juſt as much Reaſon for calling that *Rout*, a *Parliament*, or its *Acts*, *Laws*, as he had for making the ſuppreſſing of *Popular Elections* of Miniſters, a *juſt Cauſe* for *ſeparating* from the Communion of a Church. Thus I have inſiſted on the *Receſſions* of our preſent Presbyterian Brethren from the ſentiments of our Reformers about the *publick worſhip* of the Church and ſome of its *Appendages*; Perchance I have done it too tediouſly; if ſo, I ſhall endeavour to diſpatch what remains, more curtly.

(*n*) p. 15.

III. They have alſo Deſerted our Reformers in the *Diſcipline* of the Church; The particulars are too numerous to be inſiſted on; Let any man compare the *two Books* of *Diſcipline*; The *Firſt* compiled by our *Reformers*, *Anno* 1560; The *Second*, by the *Presbyterians* of the *firſt Edition*, and *Ratified* by *Act* of the *General Aſſembly*, holden in *April* 1581, and he ſhall find no ſcarcity of diffe-

differences; He ſhall find Alterations, Innovations, Oppoſitions, Contradictions, *&c.* Let him compare the Acts of Aſſemblies after the year 1580, with the Acts of Aſſemblies, before, and he ſhall find many more. Indeed,

Our preſent Presbyterians have made not a few notorious Receſſions from the *Second*, The *Presbyterian Book* of Diſcipline. To inſtance in a few.

The *Third Chapter* of the *Second Book* of Diſcipline is thus Intituled, *How the Perſons that bear Eccleſiaſtical Function, are admitted to their Offices.* This *Chap.* treats of ſuch Perſons in the general; The particular Orders of Paſtors, Doctors, Elders, *&c.* are particularly treated of, in ſubſequent *Chapters.* This *Third Chapter* treating, thus, of Eccleſiaſtical Officers in the general, makes two things neceſſary to the *outward call*, *Election* and *Ordination*, § 6. It defines ordination to be *the ſeparation and ſanctifying of the Perſon appointed by God, and his Church, after that he is well tryed and found qualified.* It ennumerates *Faſting*, *Prayer*, *and impoſition of hands* of the *Elderſhip*, as the *Ceremonies* of *Ordination*, § 11, 12. Now the whole Nation knows, no ſuch thing as either Tryal, Faſting, or impoſition of hands, are uſed by our preſent Presbyterians in the *Ordination* of *Ruling Elders.*

The *Sixth Chapter* is particularly concerning *Ruling Elders*, as contra-diſtinct from *Paſtors* or *Teaching Elders.* And it determines thus,

thus, concerning them, §. 3. *Elders once Lawfully called to the Office, and having Gifts of God fit to exerciſe the ſame, may not leave it again:* Yet nothing more ordinary with our preſent Presbyterians, than laying aſide Ruling Elders, and reducing them to a ſtate of *Laicks*; So that, Sure I am, if ever they were *Presbyters*, they come under *Tertullians* Cenſure *(De Præſcrip.) Hodie Presbyter, qui cras Laicus. A Presbyter to day, and a Porter to morrow.*

By the 9th §. of that ſame *Chapter, It pertains to them* (theſe Ruling Elders) *to aſſiſt the Paſtor in examining thoſe that come to the Lords Table, and in viſiting the Sick.* This Canon is not much in uſe, I think, as to the laſt part of it; as to the firſt, it is intirely indeſuetude. Indeed ſome of them would be wondrouſly qualified for ſuch ane Office.

The *Seventh Chapter* is about *Elderſhips and Aſſemblies.* By § 2. *Aſſemblies are of four ſorts*, viz. *either of a particular Congregation, or of a Province, or a whole Nation, or all Chriſtian Nations.* Now of all theſe indefinitely it is affirmed, §. 5. *In all Aſſemblies a Moderator ſhould be choſen by common conſent of the whole Brethren conveened*; Yet no ſuch thing obſerved in our *Kirk-Seſſions*, which are the *Congregational Aſſemblies* ſpoken of § 2. But *Mas John* takes the *Chair* without *Election*; and would not be a little *grated* if the beſt *Laird* in the Pariſh ſhould be his Competitor. *Crawford* himſelf, the *Firſt* Earl

Earl of the Kingdome, had never the Honour to be *Moderator* in the *Kirk-Seſſion* of *Ceres*.

The 14*th Canon*, in the ſame 7*th Chapter* is this, *When we ſpeak of Elders of particular Congregations, we mean not that every particular Pariſh Church can, or MAY have their particular Elderſhips, eſpecially to Landward, but we think three or four, more, or fewer particular Churches may have a common Elderſhip to them all, to judge their Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. And Chapter* 12. *Canon* 5. *As to Elders, there would be in every Congregation, one, or more, appointed for cenſuring of manners, but not ane Aſſembly of Elders, except in Towns and Famous Places, where men of Judgement and Ability may be had: And theſe to have a common Elderſhip placed amongſt them, to treat of all things that concern the Congregations of whom they have the Overſight.* But as the world goes now, every Pariſh, even in the Country, muſt have its own *Elderſhip*; and this Eldertſhip muſt conſiſt of ſuch a number of the *Sincerer ſort*, as may be able to out-vote all the *Malignant* Heritors, upon occaſion; as when a Miniſter is to be choſen, *&c.* So long as there is a *preciſe Plough-man*, or a *well-affected Webſter*, or a *covenanted Cobbler*, or ſo, to be found in the Pariſh, ſuch a number muſt not be wanting. The ſtanding of the *Sect* is the *Supreme* Law: The *good cauſe* muſt not *ſuffer*, tho' all the *Canons* of the *Kirk* ſhould be put to *ſhift* for themſelves.

IV. The laſt thing I named, as that, wherein

wherein our preſent Presbyterians have forſaken the principles and ſentiments of our Reformers, was *the Government of the Church*: But I have treated ſo fully of this, already, that 'tis needleſs to purſue it any farther. I ſhall only therefore, as ane Appendage to this, repreſent one very conſiderable *Right* of the *Church*, adhered to by our Reformers, but diſclaim'd by our preſent Presbyterians. It is, her being the *Firſt* of the *three Eſtates* of Parliament, and having *vote* in that *great Council* of the Nation.

It is evident from the moſt Ancient Records, and all the Authentick Monuments of the Nation, That the *Church* made ſtill the *Firſt*, of the *Three Eſtates*, in *Scottiſh* Parliaments, ſince there were Parliaments in *Scotland*. This had obtained, time out of mind, and was lookt upon as *Fundamental*, in the Conſtitution of Parliaments, in the days of the Reformation. Our Reformers never ſo much as once dream'd, that this was a *Popiſh Corruption*: What *Sophiſtry* can make it *ſuch*? They dream'd as little of its being unſeemly or ſcandalous, or incongruous, or inconvenient, or whatever, now adays, men are pleas'd to call it. On the contrary, they were clear for its continuance, as a very important *Right* of the *Church*. The *Firſt Book of Diſcipline*, *Head 8th*, allowed Clergy-men *to Aſſiſt the Parliament when the ſame is called*. 'Tis true *Calderwood* both Corrupts the *Text*, here, and gives it a falſe *Gloſs*. Inſtead of theſe words

[*when*

Earl of the Kingdome, had never the Honour to be *Moderator* in the *Kirk-Seſſion* of *Ceres*.

The 14*th Canon*, in the ſame 7*th Chapter* is this, *When we ſpeak of Elders of particular Congregations, we mean not that every particular Pariſh Church can, or MAY have their particular Elderſhips, eſpecially to Landward, but we think three or four, more, or fewer particular Churches may have a common Elderſhip to them all, to judge their Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes. And Chapter* 12. *Canon* 5. *As to Elders, there would be in every Congregation, one, or more, appointed for cenſuring of manners, but not ane Aſſembly of Elders, except in Towns and Famous Places, where men of Judgement and Ability may be had: And theſe to have a common Elderſhip placed amongſt them, to treat of all things that concern the Congregations of whom they have the Overſight.* But as the world goes now, every Pariſh, even in the Country, muſt have its own *Elderſhip*; and this Elderſhip muſt conſiſt of ſuch a number of the *Sincerer ſort*, as may be able to out-vote all the *Malignant* Heritors, upon occaſion; as when a Miniſter is to be choſen, *&c.* So long as there is a *preciſe Plough-man*, or a *well-affected Webſter*, or a *covenanted Cobbler*, or ſo, to be found in the Pariſh, ſuch a number muſt not be wanting. The ſtanding of the *Sect* is the *Supreme* Law: The *good cauſe* muſt not *ſuffer*, tho' all the *Canons* of the *Kirk* ſhould be put to *ſhift* for themſelves.

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[*when*

[*when the ſame is called,*] he puts theſe [*if he be called,*] (o) and his *Gloſs* is, *Meaning with advice*, (ſays he) *not by voice, or ſitting as a Member of that Court.* I ſay this is a falſe *Gloſs*. Indeed, it runs quite counter to all the principles and practices of theſe times: For not only did the *Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate* ſit, actually, in the Reforming Parliament, *Anno* 1560, and all Parliaments, thereafter, for very many years; But ſuch *ſtreſs*, in theſe times, was laid on this *Eſtate*, that it was generally thought, that nothing of publick concern could be Legally done without it: The Counſel of the Eccleſiaſtick *Peers* was judged neceſſary in all matters of *National* Importance. Thus

(o) Spot. 168. Cald. 28.

Anno 1567. when the *Match* was on foot, between the *Queen* and *Bothwell*, that it might ſeem to be concluded with the greater Authority, pains were taken to get the conſent of the principal Nobility, by their ſubſcriptions. But this was not all; that all might be made as ſure as could be, *All the Biſhops, who were in the City, were alſo Convocated, and their ſubſcriptions required*, as *Buchanan* tells us. And

Poſtridie, quod in Urbe fuit Epiſcoporum Convocatur in Aulam, ut & ipſi, quidem, ſubſcriberent. Buch. 667.

Anno 1568. when the Accuſation was intented againſt the Queen of *Scotland*, before the Queen of *England*'s Arbitrators, that it might be done with the greater appearance of the Conſent of the Nation; That it might have the greater ſemblance of

of a National Deed, as being a matter wherein all *Eſtates* were concerned, the *Biſhop* of *Orkney*, and the *Abbot* of *Dunfermline* were appointed to repreſent the *Spiritual Eſtate*. (p) Again,

(p) Buch. 698. Spot. 219.

Anno 1571. when the two Counter Parliaments were holden at *Edenburg*, thoſe of the *Queens Faction*, as *few* as they were, had the *Votes* of *two* Biſhops in their *Seſſion* holden *July* 12, as is clear from *Buchanan* and *Spotſwood* compared together. (q)

(q) Buch. 756. Spot. 254.

In their *next Seſſion*, which was holden at *Edenburg*, *Auguſt* 22, that ſame year, tho' they were, in all, but *five* Members, yet *two* of them were Biſhops, as *Spotſwood* tells. (r) But *Buchanan*'s account is more conſiderable. (s) For he ſays, *one* of theſe *two* was there unwillingly, ſo that it ſeems he was forced by the reſt to be there, out of a ſenſe they had of the *Neceſſity* of the *Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate*. Now 'tis to be Remembred that thoſe who appeared for the *Queen*, were *Proteſtants* as well as theſe who were for her *Son*.

(r) Spot. 256.

(s) Buch. 760.

No Man, I think, will deny but the ſubſiſtence of the *Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate*, and their *Vote* in Parliament was confirmed and continued by the *Agreement* of *Leith*, *Anno* 1572. Indeed,

When the Project for *Parity* amongſt the Officers of the Church was ſet on *Foot* by *Melvil*, *Anno* 1575, and ſome of the Clergy were gained to his ſide, and they were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to have Epiſcopacy

Epiſcopacy overturned, it ſeems this was a main difficulty to them, a difficulty which did very much entangle and retard their purpoſe; This, I ſay, that the *overturning Prelacy*, was the overturning one of the *three Eſtates* of Parliament. This is evident not only from *Boyd*, *Arch Biſhop* of *Glaſgow*, his Diſcourſe, to the General Aſſembly, *Anno* 1576. mentioned before, but alſo from the two Letters I have often named which were written to Mr. *Beza*: the one by the *Lord Glamis*, *Anno* 1576, or 1577, the *other* by Mr. *Melvil*, *Anno* 1579. Becauſe they contribute ſo much light to the matter in hand, I ſhall once more reſume them. *Glamis* was then *Chancellor* of *Scotland*; It is manifeſt he wrote not indeliberately, or without advice: Undoubtedly he ſtated the Queſtion, according to the *ſenſe*, the *Generality of People* had, then, of it; Now he ſtates it thus. *Seeing every Church hath its own Paſtor, and the Power of Paſtors in the Church of Chriſt ſeems to be equal; The Queſtion is whither the Office of Biſhops be Neceſſary in the Church, for convocating theſe Paſtors, when there is need; for Ordaining Paſtors, and for Depoſing them for juſt Cauſes? Or whither it be better, that the Paſtors Acting in Parity, and ſubject to no Superiour Biſhop, ſhould chooſe Qualified Men, for the Miniſtery, with conſent of the Patron, and the People; and Cenſure, and Depoſe, &c.? For Retaining Biſhops we have theſe two Motives; One is, the ſtubbornenſs and ungovernableneſs of the People, which cannot poſ-*

ſibly

ſibly be kept within Bounds † *if they are not over-awed by the Authority of theſe Biſhops, in their viſitations. The other is, that ſuch is the conſtitution of the Monarchy* * *which hath obtain'd time out of mind, that as often as the Parliament meets, for conſulting about things pertaining to the ſafety of the Republick, nothing can be determined without the Biſhops, who make the* Third Eſtate *of the Kingdom, which, to change or ſubvert, would be extremely perilous to the Kingdom.* So he, from which we may learn two things: The *Firſt* is, a farther confirmation of what I have before aſſerted to have been the ſentiment of theſe times concerning the *Election of Paſtors*, namely that it was, that they ſhould be *Elected by the Clergy*, and that *the People* ſhould have no other *Power* than that of *Conſenting*: The *other* is pat in Relation to our preſent buſineſs, namely, that the *Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate* was judged *Neceſſary*, by the *conſtitution* of the *Monarchy*; It could not be wanting in Parliaments: It was to run the hazard of ſubverting the *conſtitution*, to think of *altering* it or *turning* it out of doors. And

Melvil's Letter is clearly to the ſame purpoſe: *We have not ceaſed theſe five years to fight againſt Pſeudepiſcopacy (many of the Nobility reſiſting us) and to preſs the ſeverity of Diſcipline: We have preſented unto his Royal Majeſty, and three Eſtates of the Realm, both before, and now, in this Parliament, the form of Diſcipline, to be inſert amongſt the Acts, and to be confirmed by publick Authority: We have the Kings*

† Qui vix ac ne vix quidem in officio contineri poteſt.

* Leges Regni longo uſu & invetetata conſuetudine Receptæ.

 mind

mind bended towards us, (too far ſaid. I am ſure, if we may take that Kings own word for it) *but many of the Peers againſt us: For they alledge, if Pſeudepiſcopacy be taken away, one of the Eſtates is pulled down: If Presbyteries be erected, the Royal Majeſty is* diminiſhed, *&c.* 'Tis true, *Melvil* himſelf, here, ſhews no great kindneſs for the *third Eſtate*: But that's no great matter; It was his *humor* to be *ſingular*; All I am concerned for, is the publick ſentiment of the Nation; eſpecially the *Nobility*, which we have ſo plain, for the *Neceſſity* of the *Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate*, that nothing can be plainer. Nay,

So indiſputable was it, then, that this *Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate* was *abſolutely* neceſſary by the *conſtitution*, that the Presbyterians themſelves never called it in Queſtion, never offered to advance ſuch a *Paradox* as that, it might be aboliſhed: After they had aboliſhed Epiſcopacy by their Aſſembly 1580, the King ſent ſeveral times to them, telling them, "He could not want *one* of his *three* "*Eſtates*. How would they provide him "with ane *Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate*, now that "they had aboliſhed Biſhops? Whoſo pleaſes to Read *Calderwood* himſelf ſhall find this point frequently inſiſted on. What returns gave they? Did they ever in the leaſt offer to return that the having ane *Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate* in Parliament was a *Popiſh Corruption*? That it was ane *unwarrantable* conſtitution? That it was *not Neceſſary*? Or that the conſtitution might be *intire* enough without it?

No

No ſuch thing entered their thoughts; On the contrary, they were ſtill clear for maintaining it; They had no inclination to part with ſuch a valuable Right of the Church; Their Anſwer to the Kings Demands was ſtill, *one* and *the ſame*; *They were not againſt Churchmens having vote in Parliament*; *But none ought to vote in name of the Church without Commiſſion from the Church.* And this their ſentiment they put in the very *Second Book of Diſcipline*, for theſe are word for word the *ſeventeenth* and *eighteenth Articles* of the *eleventh Chapter.*

17. *We deny not in the mean time that Miniſters MAY and SHOULD aſſiſt their Princes when they are required, in all things agreeable to the word of God, whither it be in Council or Parliament, or out of Council; Providing always they neither neglect their own charges, nor, through flattery of Princes, hurt the publick Eſtate of the Kirk.*

18. *But generally we ſay, that no Paſtor under whatſoever Title of the Kirk, and ſpecially the abuſed Titles in Popery, of Prelates, Chapters and Convents, ought to attempt any thing, in the Churches name, either in Parliament, or out of Council, without the Commiſſion, of the Reformed Kirk within this Realm.* (t) And It was concluded in the Aſſembly holden at *Dundee*, *March* 7. 1598. *That it was NECESSARY and EXPEDIENT for the well of the Kirk, that the Miniſtery as the third Eſtate of this Realm, in name of the Church, have vote in Parliament.* (u) So indubitable was it in

(t) Spot. 299. Cald. 112.

(u) MS. Pet. 545. Spot. 449. Cald. 420.

theſe times, that the *Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate* was neceſſary, and that it could not be wanting without the notorious *ſubverſion* of the *conſtitution* of Parliaments. Indeed, it was not only the ſentiment of General Aſſemblies, whatever ſide, whither the *Prelatical* or the *Presbyterian* prevailed, but it was likewiſe the ſentiment of *all Parliaments:* It were eaſy to amaſs a great many Acts of a great many Parliaments to this purpoſe: I ſhall only inſtance in a few. Thus

The *eight Act Parl.* 1. *Jac.* 6. holden in *Decemb.* 1567, appoints the *Coronation Oath* to be *ſworn* by the *King*: And it is one of the *Articles* of that *Oath, That he ſhall Rule the People committed to his Charge— according to the loveable Laws and Conſtitutions received in this Realm, no wiſe repugnant to the word of the Eternal God.* Now, I think, this Parliament made no Queſtion, but that the *Fundamental Law* of the *Conſtitution* of *Parliaments*, was *one* of theſe *Loveable Laws and Conſtitutions*, received in this Realm, no wiſe repugnant to the word of the Eternal God. Indeed

The 24*th Act* of that ſame Parliament is this, word for word; *Our Soveraign Lord, with advice and conſent of his Regent, and the three Eſtates of Parliament, has Ratified, and Ratifies, all Civil Priviledges granted and given by our Soveraign Lords Predeceſſors to the Spiritual Eſtate of this Realm in all points, after the form and tenor thereof.* Than which there cannot

cannot be a more *Authentick* Commentary, for finding the true ſenſe and meaning of the *Coronation Oath*, in Relation to our preſent purpoſe: I ſhall only adduce two more, but they are ſuch two as are as good as two thouſand.

The 130th *Act Parl.* 8. *Jac.* 6. *Anno* 1584, is this word for word; *The Kings Majeſty conſidering the Honour and the Authority of his Supreme Court of Parliament, continued, paſt all memory of Man, unto theſe days, as conſtitute upon the free votes of the three Eſtates of this Ancient Kingdom; By whom the ſame, under God, has, ever, been upholden; Rebellious and Traiterous Subjects puniſhed; the good and faithful preſerved, and maintained; and the Laws and Acts of Parliament (by which all men are Govern'd) made and Eſtabliſhed; and finding the Power, Dignity, and Authority of the ſaid Court of Parliament, of late years, called in ſome doubt, at leaſt, ſome* (ſuch as Mr. Andrew Melvil, &c.) *curiouſly travelling to have introduced ſome Innovations thereanent; His Majeſties firm will and mind, always being, as it is yet; that the Honour, Authority and Dignity of his ſaids three Eſtates ſhall ſtand and continue in their own integrity, according to the Ancient and Loveable cuſtome by-gone, without any alteration or diminution: THEREFORE, it is Statuted and Ordained by our Soveraign Lord, and his ſaid three Eſtates, in this preſent Parliament, that none of his Leiges and Subjects, preſume or take upon hand to impugne the Dignity, and the Authority of the ſaid three Eſtates; or to ſeek or*

procure the Innovation or Diminution, of the Power and Authority of the ſame three Eſtates, or any of them, in time coming, under the pain of Treaſon. Here I think the neceſſity of the three Eſtates, whereof, the *Eccleſiaſtical* was ever reckoned the *firſt*, is aſſerted pretty fairly. Neither is this Act, ſo far as I know, formally repealed by any ſubſequent Act: And whoſoever knows any thing of the Hiſtory of theſe times, cannot but know that it was to cruſh the Deſigns ſet on foot, then, by ſome, for innovating about the *Spiritual Eſtate*, that this *Act* was formed.

The other which I promiſed, is, *Act* 2. *Parl.* 18. *Jac.* 6. holden *Anno* 1606. Intituled *Act anent the Reſtitution of the Eſtate of Biſhops.* In the *Preamble* of which Act we are told, *That of late, during his Majeſties young years, and unſetled Eſtate, the Ancient and* FUNDAMENTAL *Policy, conſiſting in the Maintainance of the* THREE ESTATES *of Parliament, has been greatly impaired, and almoſt ſubverted; Specially by the Indirect Aboliſhing of the Eſtate of Biſhops, by the Act of Annexation of the Temporality of Benefices to the Crown— That the ſaid Eſtate of Biſhops is a Neceſſary Eſtate of the Parliament*, &c.

Such were the Sentiments of theſe times: So Eſſential was the *Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate* deem'd in the *Conſtitution* of *Scottiſh* Parliaments. And no wonder: For no man can doubt, but it was as early, as poſitively, as

as inconteſtedly, as fundamentally and unalterably in the conſtitution, as either the Eſtate of *Nobles*, or the Eſtate of *Burrows*. There is no Queſtion, I think, about the *Burrows*: As for the Eſtate of *Nobles*, 'tis certain all *Barons* were ſtill reckoned of the *Nobleſs*: The *leſſer Barons* in Ancient times, were ſtill reckoned a part of the *Second*, never a *diſtinct Eſtate* of Parliament; and they muſt quit all pretenſions to be of the *Nobleſs*, when they ſet up for a diſtinct Eſtate: Setting up for ſuch, they are no more of the *Nobility*, than the *Burrows*. And then,

If *two* Eſtates can *vote out one*, and make a Parliament without it; If they can ſplit *one* into *two*, and ſo make up the *three* Eſtates: Why may not one ſplit it ſelf as well into *three*? Why may not the *two* parts of the ſplitted Eſtate joyn together and *vote out* the Eſtate of *Burrows*? Why may not the *Nobility* of the *Firſt Magnitude* joyn with the *Burrows* to *vote out* the *ſmaller Barons*? Why may not the *ſmaller Barons* and the *Burrows vote out* the *greater Nobility*? After *two* have *voted out one*, why may not *one*, the more numerous, *vote out* the *other*, the leſs numerous? When the Parliament is reduced to *one* Eſtate why may not that *one* divide and *one half* vote out the *other*? And then *ſubdivide* and *vote out*, till the whole Parliament ſhall conſiſt of the Commiſſioner for *Rutherglen*, or the *Laird* of or the *Earl* of *Crawford*? Nay why may

not that *one vote out* himſelf and leave the King without a Parliament? What a dangerous thing is it to ſhake Foundations? How doth it unhinge all things? How plainly doth it pave the way for that which our Brethren pretend to abhor ſo much, *viz.* a *Deſpotick Power*, ane Abſolute, and *unlimited Monarchy*? But enough of this.

To conclude this point; there's nothing more notorious than that the *Spiritual Eſtate* was ſtill judged *Fundamental* in the *Conſtitution* of Parliaments, was ſtill *called* to Parliaments, did ſtill *Sit*, *Deliberate*, and *Vote* in Parliaments till the year 1640, that it was turned out by the, then, Presbyterians: And our preſent Presbyterians following their footſteps, have not only freely parted with, but forwardly rejected, that Ancient and valuable *Right* of the *Church*: Nay, they have not only rejected it, but they declaim conſtantly againſt it as a *Limb* of *Antichriſt* and what not? And have they not, herein, manifeſtly Deſerted the undoubted principles and ſentiments of our Reformers?

It had been eaſy to have ennumerated a great many more of their notorious Receſſions from the principles of the Reformation: *e. g.* I might have inſiſted on their Deſerting the principles and practices of our Reformers about the Conſtitution of General Aſſemblies; about Communion with the Church of *England*; about the Civil Ma-

Magiſtrates Power in Church Matters (juſtly or unjuſtly is not the preſent Queſtion) and many more things of conſiderable importance. Nay, which at firſt ſight may ſeem a little ſtrange, as much as they may ſeem to have ſwallowed down the principles of Rebellion and Arm'd Reſiſtances againſt Lawful Soveraign Princes, maintain'd by our Reformers, yet even herein, there is difference; Conſiderable difference.

Our Reformers, as much as they were inclined to Rebel againſt Kings, did yet maintain that they held their Crowns *immediately* of God. *John Knox* in his *Sermon* preached on the 19*th* of *Auguſt* 1565, and afterwards publiſhed, hath this plain poſition, *That it is neither birth, Influence of Stars,* ELECTION OF PEOPLE, *Force of Arms, nor, finally, whatſoever can be comprehended under the Power of nature, that maketh the diſtinction between the Superiour Power, and the Inferior, or that doth Eſtabliſh the Royal Throne of Kings; But it is the only and perfect Ordinance of God, who willeth his Terror, Power and Majeſty, in a part, to ſhine in the Thrones of Kings and in the Faces of Judges,* &c. Neither was this only his private ſentiment.

The 24*th Article* of the *Confeſſion of Faith*, compiled by our Reformers, and Ratified by Act of Parliament, is every whit as plain and Decretory; For there, *They Profeſs to believe that Empires, Kingdoms, Dominions and*

and Cities are Diſtincted and Ordained by God: That the Powers and Authorities therein, are Gods Holy Ordinance; That Perſons placed in Authority are to be Loved, Honoured, Feared, and holden in moſt Reverend Eſtimation, becauſe, they are Gods Lieutenants, in whoſe Seſſion God ſits, as Judge; to whom, by God, is given the Sword, &c. *That therefore whoſoever deny unto Kings, their Aid, Counſel, or Comfort, while they vigilantly, travel in the executing of their Office, they deny their help, ſupport, and Counſel to God, who, by the preſence of his Lieutenant, craveth it of them.* So it was profeſſed by our Reformers: How this principle could conſiſt with their practices, is none of my preſent concerns. That is no more than to ſhew how our Presbyterian Brethren have deſerted them in this matter: Now

Our Presbyterian Brethren make *Kings*, as *ſuch*, not *Gods*, but the *Peoples* creatures, by conſequence, not *Gods*, but the *Peoples* Lieutenants; The *People* ſets them on their Thrones; They have their *Power* from the *People*; They are the *Peoples Truſtees*; They are accountable to the *People*; So that *whoſoever denys his Aid, Counſel or Comfort to them, while they vigilantly travel in executing their Office*, in true Logick can be ſaid to deny them *only* to the *People*. Even here then there is this great difference, our Reformers maintain'd *one good principle* in Relation to Soveraign Powers: Our preſent Presbyterians have even rejected that *one* good

good principle. 'Tis true indeed, our Reformers ſeem to have been inconſequential in ſubſtituting Rebellious practices in the retinue of ane Orthodox principle; And our Presbyterian Brethren ſeem to be conſequential in having their principle and their practice of a piece; But doth this mend the matter? Nothing, as I take it; for all ends here, That our Reformers believed *Right*, tho they practiced *Wrong*. But our Presbyterian Brethren are altogether *Wrong*; They neither believe, nor practice *Right*.

Thus, I ſay, it had been no difficult task to have inſtanced in many more of our *Presbyterian* Innovations; But the taſte I have given, I think, is ſufficient for my purpoſe; For laying together ſo many *undeniable* Innovations, ſo many palpable and notorious Receſſions from the principles and practices of our Reformers, as I have adduced; and theſe in ſo weighty and important matters, as the *Doctrine*, *Worſhip*, *Diſcipline*, *Government*, and *Rights* of the *Church*, I may fairly leave it to the world, to judge, if our Brethren have juſt reaſon to inſiſt ſo much upon the principles of our Reformation, or to entitle themſelves (as, on all occaſions they are ſo ſollicitous and forward to do) the only *Real* and *Genuine Succeſſors* of our Reformers.

Neither is this all that may juſtly *pinch* them. They have not only Receded from our *Scottiſh* Reformers, but from all other *Reformed Churches*. What *Reformed Church* in

in *Chriſtendom* maintains all the Articles of the *Weſtminſter Confeſſion*? What *Reformed Church* requires the profeſſion of ſo many Articles, not *mainly* for *Peace* and *Unity*, but as a *Teſt* of *Orthodoxy*? What *Reformed Church*, except our *Kirk*, maintains the *Divine Inſtitution* of *Parity* among the *Paſtors* of the *Church*, ſo, as to make all kind of *Prelacy* ſimply *unlawful*? What *Reformed Church*, except the *Scottiſh*, wants a *Liturgy*? What *Party* in *Europe* that aſſumes the name of a *National Church*, Condemns *Liturgies*, ſet Forms of Prayer, *&c.* as *Unlawful*, except *Scottiſh* Presbyterians? What *Tranſmarine Reformed Church*, that is not *Lutheran*, Condemns the *Communion* of the *Church* of *England*? What *Reformed Church* maintains the *Divine inſtitution* and the *Indiſpenſible Neceſſity* of *Ruling Elders* in contradiſtinction to *Paſtors*? What *Reformed Church* maintains the *Divine inſtitution* and the *unalienable Right* of *Popular* Elections of *Paſtors*? What *Reformed Church* ever offered to maintain that the *Government* of the *Church*, by *Biſhops*, or a publick *Liturgy*, or *want* of Ruling Elders, diſtinct from Paſtors; or *chooſing* Paſtors, otherwiſe, than by the *voices* of the *People*, or *uſing* ſome *innocent* and *unforbidden* Ceremonies, as circumſtances or Appendages of Divine worſhip, or *obſerving* ſome *days* beſides *Sundays*, were ſufficient grounds for *breaking* the *Peace* of a Church, and *dividing* her *Unity*, and ſetting up *Altar* againſt *Altar*? What *Reformed Church* was ever *Bound* by

by her *Rules* and *Canons* to require of all ſuch as ſhe admitted to the participation of the *Lords Supper*, the *Subſcription* of ſuch *terms* as are contained in the *Solemn League and Covenant*? What *Reformed Church* doth not ſatisfy her ſelf with the Profeſſion of the *Faith* contain'd in the *Apoſtles Creed* at *Baptiſm*? What *Reformed Church* requires the Profeſſion of ſuch a vaſt, ſuch a numberleſs number of Articles and Propoſitions as are contained in the *Weſtminſter Confeſſion*, and the *larger* and *ſhorter Catechiſms*, of all thoſe, whom they *receive* into the *Catholick Church*? What is this leſs, than to make all theſe Propoſitions *Neceſſary terms* of their *Communion*? And how impoſſible is it, at this Rate, ever to think of a *Catholick* Communion among Chriſtians? Is not this, *needleſsly*, and, by conſequence, very *Criminally* and *Unchriſtianly*, to lay a *Fund* for unavoidable, unextinguiſhable and everlaſting *Schiſms*? Neither yet is this all the Miſery: For

Conſidering the *Meaſures* our Brethren *ſteer* by, there is little ground to *hope* that they ſhall ever turn *weary* of Innovating. The firſt *Brood* of Presbyterians, the old *Melvilians*, inverted (as I have told) almoſt the whole *Scheme* of our Reformers: The next *Birth*, the *thirty eight-men*, made innumerable Receſſions from their *Progenitors*, the *Melvilians*: The preſent *Production* have forſaken *moſt* of the *Meaſures* of the *thirty-eight-men*: And what hopes of their *fixing*?

When

When ſhall it be proper for them to ſay; we have done *innovating*? Hitherto we have *innovated*, but we will *innovate* no farther? How dreadful a thing is it for men to give looſe Reins to the *Spirit* of *Innovation*! But I ſhall not purſue this farther: I know the temper of our Brethren; 'tis but too too probable, they may impute it to *Malice* or *Revenge*, or ane *imbittered Spirit*, to ſome *ill* thing or another, that I have purſued this matter ſo far; But if they ſhall, I pray, *God* forgive them, for they are injurious to me. The principle which prompted me to repreſent theſe things, was truly, that of *Fraternal Correption*. My main Deſign was to *ſoften*, not *irritate* them; not to *exaſperate* them, but to bring them to a more *Manageable* and *Conſidering temper*. For

I can, and do, ſincerely, proteſt, that it is daily the earneſt deſire of my Soul, *that all men may be ſaved and come to the knowledge of the Truth*. I wiſh all *Men Chriſtians*, and I wiſh all *Chriſtians*, *Chriſtians Indeed*; In a ſpecial manner I wiſh our Presbyterian Brethren, and we, may, yet, be ſo much Honoured and bleſſed of *God*, that in the *ſincerity* of *Brotherly kindneſs*, we may be all *United* in *one Holy Communion*. I wiſh we may all earneſtly *contend*, with all Chriſtian *forbearance*, *fellow-feeling*, and *Charity*, as becometh the members of the *one Church*, whereof *Chriſt Jeſus* is the *Head*, to have the poor, *divided deſolated Church* of *Scotland* reſtored

reſtored to that Peace, Purity and Unity, That Order, Government and Stability, which our *Bleſſed Maſter* hath *inſtituted* and *commanded*. May *Almighty God inſpire* us all with the *Spirit* of his *Son*, that our *hearts* being *purified* by ane *Humble* and a *Lively Faith*, the *Faith that worketh by Love*, and our *Lives* Reformed according to the *Laws* and *great purpoſes* of our *Holy Religion*, we may be all *unanimouſly* and *dutifully diſpoſed*, for ſo Great, ſo Glorious, ſo Deſireable a *Mercy*. And with this I end this *Fifth Enquiry*. And now,

I think, I have competently anſwered the ends of my undertaking, which was to *Examine* this *Article* of our new *Claim of Right*, and try its firmneſs and ſolidity. I think, I have comprized, in theſe *five Enquiries*, every thing that is material in it, conſidered, either in it ſelf, or as it ſupports the great alterations have been, lately, made in the Church of *Scotland*. It might have been more narrowly ſifted; and ſifted more narrowly it might have been found lyable to many more exceptions. For inſtance,

1. It may ſeem ſomewhat ſurprizing that ſuch ane Article ſhould have been put into a *Scottiſh* Claim of Right; That it ſhould have been made ſo *ſeemingly Fundamental*, at leaſt, in the *Conſtitution* of the *Scottiſh Monarchy*, which is ſo famous and has been ſo much renowned for its Antiquity. Was ever ſuch ane *Article* in a *Scottiſh* Claim of Right before? No Man, I think, will ſay it

it was in the *Original Contract* made with *Fergus* the *First* (if any Original Contract was made with him) for if he was, he was advanced to the Throne, 330 years before our *Saviours Birth*, if we may believe our Hiſtorians: And, I think, it was not ane *Article* in the *Original Contract*, then that the Chriſtian Church ſhould be ſo or ſo Governed. Few men, I think, will ſay, it was part of the *Original Contract* made with any *Scottiſh* King before the *Reformation*. No man can produce any ſuch *Article* in any *Original Contract*, made with King *James* the *Sixth*, King *Charles* the *Firſt*, or King *Charles* the *Second*, unleſs it was the *Solemn League and Covenant*, or the *Act* of the *Weſt Kirk*. It cannot be ſaid that it was in any *Original Contract*, made with King *James* the *Seventh*, for all the Nation knows it was *Declared* by the *Meeting of Eſtates*, that he *forfeited his Right to the Crown* for having made no *Original Contracts*. Theſe are all the real or pretended Kings we have had ſince the Reformation, till the late Revolution. Is not this *Article*, therefore, a *New Fundamental*, added to the *Conſtitution* of the *Ancient Scottiſh Monarchy*? This is all upon the ſuppoſition that it is, truly, a *part* of our new *Claim of Right*. Tho' indeed,

2. It may be made a Queſtion, whither it can be juſtly called a *part* of the *Claim of Right*? It is very poſſible for *one* thing to be *in* another without being *part* of that *other*.

other. And one would think, this *Article* lookt very unlike a *part of* a Claim of Right: It ſeems not to run in the *ſtile* that is *proper* for *Claims of Right*: 'Tis certain, it runs not in the *ſtile* of the *reſt* of the *Articles*. All the reſt of the Articles tell us either what is *contrary* to *Law*, or what are the undoubted *Rights* of the *People*: This *Article* imports nothing like either the *one* or the *other*. It only *Declares* Prelacy to be a *Grievance*, *&c.* This doth not ſay that it was *contrary* to *Law*: For *Laws* themſelves may *be*, and actually *were* Declared to be *Grievances* by the *Meeting of Eſtates*, in another paper; And the Articles Declaring that *Prelacy* ought to be *Aboliſhed*, is ane Argument that it *ſubſiſted* by *Law*, and it was aboliſhed as *ſubſiſting* by *Law*, for the *Act* which aboliſhed it *Repealed* the *Laws* by which it *ſubſiſted*. Neither is *Prelacy* declared by the *Article* to be *contrary* to the *Rights*, but only to the *Inclinations* of the *People*; and I think, it requires no *Depth* of *Metaphyſical preciſion* to diſtinguiſh between *Rights* and *Inclinations*. Indeed, it ſeems obvious to any body that this *Article* had had its *ſituation* more properly and *naturally* amongſt the *Grievances*, which were digeſted in another paper; and therefore, I ſay, being only *præternaturally*, and by apparent *force*, thruſt into the *Claim of Right*, it may be made a Queſtion, whither its being, *ſo*, there, be enough to make it *part* of the *Claim of Right*? Or whither its *nature* ſhould not be regarded

rather than its *poſt*. And, it ſhould be conſtructed to have no more weight than if it had been *Regularly* ranked in its own *Category*? But ſuch Queſtions are too hard for me, and more proper for Lawyers to determine. Neither ſhall I meddle

3. With many other obvious difficulties which muſt neceſſarily reſult from this Article, being made truly a part of the *Original Contract*, between King and People; Such as its making the *ſettlement* of the *Crown* to depend, not on *Right* of *Inheritance*, or *Proximity* of *Blood*, or any ſuch Ancient, Legal, Solid, Hereditary Title, but on the, every day, *changeable Inclinations* of the *People*, for theſe are the main *fund* of the Article, and by the ſuppoſition, the Article is *intrinſecal* and *fundamental* to the *preſent ſettlement*. This, I ſay, (and many more ſuch, which might be eaſily named) ſeems a very conſiderable difficulty that might be urged on ſuch a ſuppoſition: But I ſhall not inſiſt on them. Farther,

4. Beſides all theſe *Awkward* exceptions, whither it is, or is not, a *part* of the *Claim of Right*, the *ſtile* of it might deſerve to be conſidered: Particularly, that Phraſe, of *Prelacy's being a great and inſupportable Grievance and Trouble to the Nation.* 'Tis true I have in my *Third Enquiry*, *gueſſed* at its meaning; But I do ſincerely acknowledge it was but *gueſſing*; and even yet, I can do no more but *gueſs* about it. Doth it not, at firſt ſight, appear a little too *big* and *ſwelling*?

ſwelling? Is it not hard to find, for it, a *certain* and determined *ſound*? To call a thing a *great and inſupportable Grievance and Trouble*, ſeems a little too *flaſhy* and *fanciful*. Is it not liker to the *flights* of the Rhetoricians deſign'd for *popular amuſement*, than to the plain, ſolid ſignificant *ſtile* which is proper for the Grand *Council* of a Nation? For *Original-Contract*, and *Claim-of Right-makers*?

5. Seeing, 'tis plain, the Article was formed for the abolition of *Prelacy*, and the Introduction of *Presbytery*, it ſeems a little ſtrange, that ſuch ane important Revolution, in the Church, ſhould have been founded on ſuch *Untheological Reaſons*. It ſeems to lye at the bottom of this Article, that the *Government* of the Church is *Ambulatory* and *Indifferent*; That there is nothing of *Divine Inſtitution* about it; that the *State* may alter it when it pleaſes; and, as it thinks expedient, ſet up, Alternatively, either *Prelacy* or *Parity*, or neither, but plain *Eraſtianiſm*, if it has a mind for it. Theſe are ſuppoſitions, which, I think, ought not to be very reliſhing even to our Presbyterian Brethren: Tho hitherto they only have got advantage by the Article, yet it ſeems not *honourable* for their *Government*, to ſtand on ſuch a foot, nor can they be ſecure but that it may be very ſoon turn'd down again. Tho', in conſequence of this,

6. By *G. R*'s Meaſures, the *Framers* of

the Article, were *incapable* of *Voting* about the Eſtabliſhment of any *Form* of Government in the Church: For they proceeded in *voting* this *Article*, clearly upon the *principles* of *Indifferency*. But according to him as I have already obſerved, ſuch, tho' they may be perſons both Religious and Learned, are not to be brought into the *Reckoning*, with thoſe who have *Right* to *vote* about *Church-Government*. Indeed according to his *Scheme*, the Nation, by this Article, is brought to a very lamentable ſtate. For thus ane Article is *impoſed* on it, by ſuch as had no *Right*, no *Power* to *impoſe* it, becauſe they have fairly declared themſelves to be for the *indifferency* of particular *forms* of Church Government. And yet by another *propoſition*, in his *Scheme*, this *Article* cannot be *altered*: For this is one of his *poſitions*, that the *Deed* of a *Meeting* of *Eſtates* is to be interpreted the *Deed* of the *whole Nation*: From which it follows by unavoidable conſequence, that the *whole Nation*, hereafter muſt be *excluded* from *voting* about the Government of the Church: For the *whole Nation* (even Presbyterians themſelves not excepted) by Eſtabliſhing this Article have declared themſelves *indifferent*, as to the *Species* of Church Government. Now as I ſaid, is not this a Lamentable ſtate to which the Nation is reduced? It lyes under the burden of ane ill-contrived Article, impoſed by ſuch as were not *Competent*, had no *Right*, to *impoſe* it; and yet it muſt lye,

2 Vind. ad Let. 3. §. 4.

Reme-

Remedileſsly, under this *burden*, becauſe thoſe who *impoſed* it, by *impoſing* it, while they were not *Competent* nor *Qualified* for *impoſing* it, have rendred the *whole* Nation *incompetent*, and *unqualified* for *altering* it, or freeing it ſelf of ſuch a *burden*. Was ever Nation ſo miſerably intricated? But enough of *G. R.*

Theſe, I ſay, and ſeveral other things, might have been farther conſidered and inſiſted on: But having already anſwered the ends of my undertaking, I ſhall proceed no farther: I conclude with this.

If theſe Papers ſhall have the Fortune to come to the hand of any *Scottiſh* Noblemen or Gentlemen, and if they ſhall think it worth their while to peruſe them, I earneſtly beg one piece of Juſtice from them: It is, that they would not apprehend, I had the leaſt intention or inclination to caſt *diſgrace* on ſuch of them as concurred either to the *framing* or the *voting* of this *Article*. I love my native Country: I *honour* all Perſons of *true* honour in it: I have no where *impugned* the *Authority* of thoſe who Eſtabliſhed this Article; I had no ſuch purpoſe; My undertaking required no ſuch performance; All I deſigned was to do ſervice to my Countrey, according to my poor abilities: I cannot think any Ingenuous perſon, any perſon of true honour, can deny, that it is good ſervice done to mankind to tell them truth *Civilly*, and endeavour *Dutifully* to recover them from miſtakes,

takes, if they labour under any. We are all fallible, and capable of taking things by the wrong handle; and a very *mean* Perſon may be ſometimes a ſeaſonable *Monitor*. If I have ſaid any thing *falſe* or *amiſs*, I crave all men pardon: But if I have advanced nothing but *Truth*, if I have done nothing but *Juſtice* to this *Article* (and I proteſt ſeriouſly, I think, I have done no more) I cannot think it will be *juſt* or *Generous*, in any Man, to harbour *Picques* againſt me, for doing what I have done; The *Genuine* uſe (I am ſure it is *Genuine*) I wiſh, my Countrey-men, of whatever *Station* or *Character*, may make of my *Examination* of this *Article*, is, to ſuffer themſelves to be put to thinking by it, and Enquiring whither there may not be ſome other *Articles*, every whit, of as great importance to the Nation, in our new *Claim of Right*, as *ill-founded* as this; And if any ſuch are found, to contribute their joynt endeavours, as becometh *true Scottiſhmen* and *good Chriſtians* to have all *Righted*.

FINIS.
